

1. The Great Uprising and Pictorial Order in Gilded Age America

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I became manager of the art department of FRANK LESLIE'S in 1875. . . . Notwithstanding I was the chief of the department, I often had to respond to "emergency calls" myself, and at last it came to pass that when any important event requiring illustration took place, Becker had to go. I always in those days kept a satchel, already packed, in the office, and was prepared to leave at a moment's notice. Partly because I had become the regular pictorial reporter, and partly because I was born in and was familiar with the region, I went, in 1877, to northeastern Pennsylvania to depict scenes in the sensational "Mollie Maguire" troubles.

In 1905, when Joseph Becker wrote a brief reminiscence of his forty-one-year career with *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, he severely condensed his role in the pictorial coverage of life, labor, and especially conflict in the anthracite coal region of eastern Pennsylvania.¹ In fact, Becker was first dispatched to the area four years before he began supervising *Leslie's* art department. From March through May 1871, four engravings attributed to him appeared in the weekly depicting strikers harassing and attacking "blackleg" replacements, along with three cuts illustrating "mining operations."² Then Becker seems to have moved on to other reportorial duties and, after its comparatively intensive pictorial consideration of coal miners' struggles, labor, and peril, *Leslie's* interest abruptly subsided; a three-year hiatus in coverage followed, broken only by one peaceful Fourth of July scene (not recorded by Becker) during the summer of 1873.³

The bitter "Long Strike" during the winter of 1874-75 brought Joseph Becker and *Frank Leslie's* back to eastern Pennsylvania. Franklin Gowen, president of the Reading Railroad, instigated the strike to destroy the miners' union, the Workingmen's Benevolent Association, and thereby gain total

control of eastern Pennsylvania coal mining. For *Leslie's*, Becker's longtime familiarity with the area must have seemed particularly advantageous, as the region was steeped in suspicion, destitution, and violence engendered by Gowen's efforts.⁴

Becker's pictorial reportage of the strike began in December 1874 with a small engraving of miners' huts near Scranton. The secret society of the Molly Maguires was mentioned for the first time in the accompanying text, and both the description and the distant perspective of the cut offered an impartial view of the strikers.⁵ A few months later, however, Becker's engravings and written reports (the additional textual information suggests that the artist himself was their author) took a decidedly partisan turn toward Gowen's position. Depicting himself "among the 'Mollie Maguires'" of Pottsville, Becker constructed a portrait of "anarchy in the coal regions of Pennsylvania" promoted by the Irish miners' "criminal organization," and he blamed the destitution of mining families on a "spirit of lawlessness" produced by ignorance, alcoholism, and sloth.⁶ "The last loaf," the engraving ("from real life") published in the March 13, 1875, issue, presented the "sad story of the suffering that frequently befalls the families of the mistaken workmen who follow the lead of the blatant demagogues—the orators who prate of the utility of strikes."

In lines and words that recall representations of urban poverty, Becker depicted a familiar travesty of domesticity:

The father of the family, a strong, athletic man whose labor could bring means to support his family in comfort, sits idly by his cabin-door carousing with his boon companions, while his hard-worked wife and almost starving children gather around the oven, as they place in it the last loaf, doubtful as to where the next supply of food may come from. . . . In the distance are collieries lying idle for want of workmen such as he who thus allows his family to want. What a happy home this man might make for himself and family! A neat cot, with smiling wife and happy children to greet his return from an honest day's labor, might take the place of this dismal hovel and dejected family, would he but work contentedly for a fair remuneration.⁷

Though Becker's reminiscences thirty years later revealed that his interpretation matched that of the Reading Railroad, his services extended far beyond reporting conditions of the Long Strike to *Leslie's* readers. Soon after arriving in Pennsylvania, he wrote in 1905, "I fell in with a detective, and together, unsuspected, but taking great risks, we traveled about, coming in contact with many 'Mollies,' and even getting on familiar terms with their leaders. In this way we acquired inside information which was of avail to the prosecuting officers."⁸

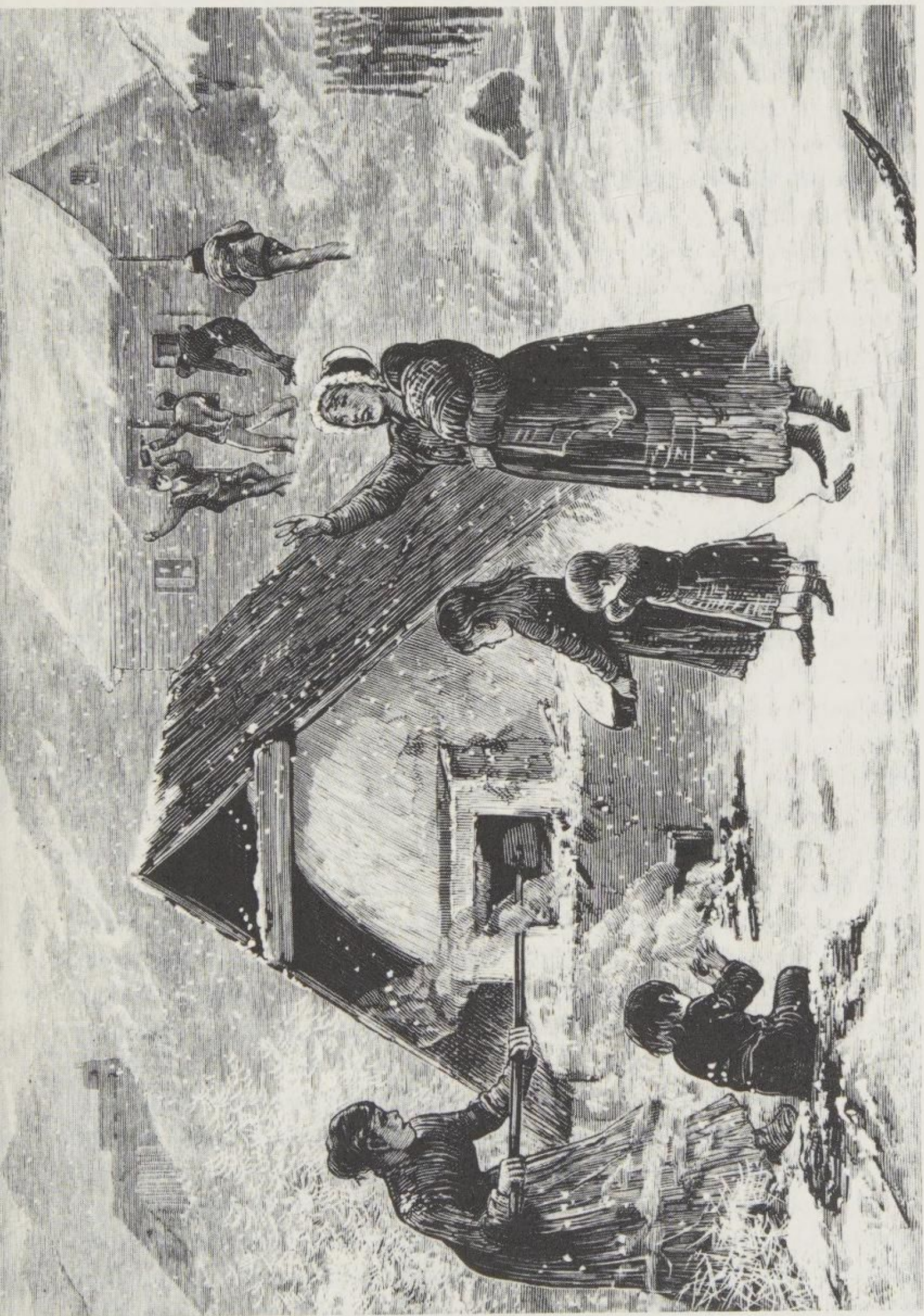


Figure 1.1. "Pennsylvania. — The last loaf — A scene in the coal region during the recent strike." Wood engraving based on a sketch by Joseph Becker, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, March 13, 1875, 9. American Social History Project.

Becker's pictures of self-inflicted degradation and his conflation of trade unionists with ringleaders of a secret criminal organization did not go uncontested. In April 1875, in a rare public acknowledgement of reader response, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* addressed objections to its coverage of the Long Strike. In the wake of Becker's "pen and pencil pictures," *Frank Leslie's* received a flurry of "ill-spelled" and "violently abusive" letters from the mining districts; these, in the weekly's view, only confirmed the special artist's depictions. *Leslie's* felt obliged, however, to address the more measured protest of Hugh McGarvy, president of the State Council of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association. "[B]oth the illustration and the pen-picture of the Miners of Pennsylvania are unfair," McGarvy had complained; "the miners are not all drunkards." McGarvy went on to defend his members' morals and sobriety, stating that if they were given "fair remuneration" from their employers, "there would be no trouble. They would willingly work, and make happy families and comfortable firesides." McGarvy concluded, "I was not surprised when first I saw such things in *Harper's Weekly*, but from FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER better things were expected. We respectfully solicit at your hands simple truth and justice for the miners as a whole."⁹

In response to this criticism, *Leslie's* conceded that strikes "are sometimes the only, and in that case, the legitimate, resort of labor in a conflict with capital." But, the weekly added, "experience proves how ruinous strikes usually are to both, and particularly to the former."¹⁰ Two more Becker contributions on the miners' strike subsequently appeared during 1875, one in the issue following McGarvy's letter and the other not until early September; neither relinquished much rhetorical ground. The accompanying descriptions forthrightly defended the engravings' accuracy and called on "all honest laborers to aid in discountenancing deeds that tend to degrade the dignity of labor[.]"¹¹

The next time *Leslie's* depicted labor conflict in the anthracite coal region was for the execution of the convicted Molly Maguire conspirators in June 1877.¹² Once again Joseph Becker journeyed to eastern Pennsylvania, although in this instance (perhaps as a cautionary measure) his sketchwork remained uncredited. As censorious as his Long Strike pictures had been, Becker's images of the Pottsville prison, the families and friends of the condemned men, the last rites, and the final march to the gallows were somber and respectful.¹³ The solemn occasion, and no doubt *Leslie's* Catholic readers, prescribed this different approach. Becker's own attitude seems to have been fleetingly remorseful. "I could not bear to see these men swing," he later confessed, "and so I absented myself from their execution. Afterward I received from the executioner (the detective aforesaid) a two and a half inch section of each rope used in the hanging. I have these grim souvenirs still."¹⁴

Whatever the nature of *Leslie's* coverage of the Long Strike, it sharply contrasted with the cursory reporting of the two competing pictorial papers of the period. *Harper's Weekly* published only one image, "The strike in the coal mines—Meeting of 'Molly M'Guire' men," credited to Paul Frenzeny and Jules Tavernier, an atypically romantic image of the secret society that belied the weekly's contempt for Irish Catholics (as exemplified in Thomas Nast's ubiquitous political caricatures).¹⁵ The *New York Daily Graphic* covered the strike in the anthracite region in its issue of May 22, 1875, peppering its report with anti-Irish commentary.¹⁶

But the significance of *Leslie's* Long Strike engravings lies less in Joseph Becker's collusion with the Pinkerton National Detective Agency than in the many letters *Leslie's* received denouncing his "pen and pencil pictures." Those letters indicate that in the decade following the Civil War, the weekly's readership extended even into isolated areas like the coalfields of Schuylkill County. Moreover, they showed specific readers firmly refusing to be reduced to a criminal, degraded social type in the pages of *Frank Leslie's*. To be sure, their protest had little immediate impact beyond tortured defenses of the engravings' depictions of violence and degradation. But Hugh McGarvy's closing remark—that "better things were expected" from *Frank Leslie's*—suggests something more. Although the paper was hardly the voice of beleaguered trade unionism, its reliance on a broad spectrum of readers compelled it to cover labor struggles, a hazardous tactic as it also attempted to bridge the increasing political, social, and cultural differences among its varied reading public. The exigencies of industrial capitalism and the resultant social conflict during the Gilded Age multiplied difference and threatened to fracture the broad readership on which the weekly relied. "The Great Uprising" of July 1877 would mark the breaking point in *Leslie's* pictorial practice and the end of one phase of a pictorial order that had governed illustrated journalism up to that time.

The Illustrated Press

Born out of the conjuncture of the transportation revolution, innovations in printing technology, an expanded literary and pictorial market, and national crisis, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* exemplified mid-nineteenth-century pictorial publication.¹⁷ After running the engraving department of the *Illustrated London News* for six years, Frank Leslie (the name adopted by Suffolk-born Henry Carter when he took up wood engraving in defiance of his glove-manufacturer father) arrived in New York City in 1848 to discover no comparable news publication requiring his services.¹⁸ Opening an

engraving establishment on Broadway, within a year Leslie found work with an individual who would steer him down a path that dramatically departed from the genteel approach to the news espoused by his previous employer. In 1849, P. T. Barnum hired Leslie to illustrate a lavish program to promote Jenny Lind's whirlwind concert tour of the United States. The successful promotion of the Swedish Nightingale's 1850–51 tour soon led to another collaboration in 1853. Although Barnum's *Illustrated News* did not survive the first year of its publication, Leslie (who served as its chief engraver) had amassed enough capital by then to finally go out on his own.¹⁹ *Frank Leslie's Ladies' Gazette of Fashion* and *Frank Leslie's Journal of Romance*, a story magazine, both published in 1854, turned out to be lucrative ventures, and they were soon joined by *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* in 1855. After weathering the 1857 depression, Leslie's operation was put on firm financial footing by its Civil War reportage. With its pictorial coverage of the national crisis, the American weekly illustrated press—epitomized by *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and *Harper's Weekly* (founded in 1857)—became an established source of news, providing a picture-hungry public with thousands of images during the four years of the war. In 1873, the *New York Daily Graphic* was introduced, the first daily newspaper to consistently carry pictures; four of its eight pages were devoted to news images and cartoons (albeit, compared to *Leslie's* and *Harper's*, with less elaborate rendering or expansive coverage). By the time the *Daily Graphic* appeared, Leslie's firm at 537 Pearl Street employed between three and four hundred people, including seventy engravers, and published seven publications bearing his name that sometimes reached editions numbering into the hundreds of thousands.

Frank Leslie created a pictorial publishing empire predicated on innovations in cheap printing, the subdivision of labor in the production of illustrations, and the appeal to a broad and diverse audience. Unlike his archrival, the genteel House of Harper, Leslie teetered on the cusp of respectability, prepared to attract the circulation necessary to support the expense of an illustrated press by addressing the varied constituencies comprising the vastly expanded market. Leslie viewed his publishing house as a marketplace in itself, with specific periodicals targeted at specific audiences, his publications ranging from didactic children's magazines to the notorious *The Days' Doings* (in which "Illustrating Current Events of Romance, Police Reports, Important Trials, and Sporting News" was directed to a male readership, inspired by the equally sensational *National Police Gazette*). The capstone of his endeavors, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*—"giving to the public original, accurate and faithful representations of the most prominent events of the day"—was Leslie's most inclusive publication, addressing the broad

“middle,” an elastic range of readers that, in the mid-nineteenth century, stretched from mechanics to merchants.²⁰

With impressive rapidity, the sixteen-page newspaper (often accompanied by supplements and special editions) regularly depicted the events and personages of the previous week. Adopting the methods of mass production that were transforming the labor process in mid-nineteenth-century America, *Leslie's* was able to rapidly deliver illustrations of the news to the public, often within days of its occurrence. The artist's sketch was but the first step in a process of pictorial reproduction that would progressively reconfigure and transform its initial interpretation. After the art superintendent chose a sketch to be worked up into an engraving, a staff artist drew a new version on paper, rendered in outlines. The drawing was then rubbed down in reverse upon the whitewashed surface of a block of Turkish boxwood, itself composed of smaller sections of wood secured together by a system of nuts and bolts. Draftsmen applied further detail in washes and pencil (sometimes dividing up the block among artists with particular skills for rendering figures, architecture, landscapes, machinery, etc.), and then the composite block went to the engraving department, where it was unbolted and distributed to a team of engravers. The engravers laboriously carved out the design (leaving the lines in relief to print black) on their individual pieces, after which the constituent blocks were rebolted together and a supervising engraver ensured that the incised lines met across the sections. The engraved block was then sent to the composing room, where it was locked into place with handset type to create a *Frank Leslie's* page to be made into an electrotyped copper plate.²¹

Supplementing daily press coverage, the pictures in *Frank Leslie's* added the dimension of palpability to the news, displaying the faces of noted individuals, the contexts and content of events. This information was rendered with particular attention to the detail of streets, scenery, and interiors. Deriving their authenticity in the eyewitness (or earwitness) presence of the “special artist,” aided by an “ambulatory” photographic staff and a vast photographic file providing architectural and topographical references, the engravings constructed news events into visual performances. The illustrations, often framed in prosceniumlike compositions, imparted a brief narrative, extending the sense of time and conveying cause and effect. On occasion, *Leslie's* published news engravings based solely on photographs, usually duly noted in their captions; in contrast to the extended narrative of the standard news cuts, the engravings that faithfully reproduced photographs often appear detached and static, marking the importance of an event rather than delineating its meaning or atmosphere. “We do not depend upon the accidental transmission of photographs, with their corpse-like literalness,” *Frank Leslie's*

intoned in 1859, “but upon our own special artists.” Disingenuous as this remark was in the light of *Leslie’s* use of photographs as source material, it nevertheless accurately described the differing representational effect of the two media.²²

The Pictorial Order

In *Frank Leslie’s* archive of places, events, and people, portraits were ubiquitous. Mathew Brady and his contemporaries may have captured the features of “illustrious Americans” on the photographic plate, but it was the illustrated press that made the faces of politicians and pundits, actors and artists, clergymen and charitable reformers, diplomats and royalty, familiar to the public. However, Brady did more than merely record; he codified the conventions of the formal public portrait into a facial map of success.²³ The idealized face of the “emulatory” photographic portrait became the standard by which the notable were represented in the pages of *Frank Leslie’s* and its competitors. Individual engraved portraits based on photographs supplied by specific studios (including Brady) graced every issue. But depictions of events involving notable figures also remained in the vise of conventional photographic portraiture. The even, modulatory gaze of the posed shot tyrannized every cut, unchanging even in the most dramatic circumstances. Such engravings succeeded in supplying readers with the details of news events, delineating the assembled personages, the layout of rooms, and the composition of surrounding scenery. But the mission to preserve the official faces of notable Americans culminated in ideal heads planted onto ill-matched bodies, perpetuating (according to *New York World* illustrator Valerian Gribayedoff) photography’s creation of a new genus called “homo ‘uprights.’”²⁴

Expressions appropriate to trying circumstances—unmasking and revealing the private, unholy countenances of the famous—were isolated on pages reserved for political caricatures and cartoons.²⁵ The discrete separation of idealized and caricatured portrayals of notable figures, however, did not apply to the greater balance of humanity portrayed in *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*. When it came to the representation of events in the newly discovered terrain of the defeated South, the burgeoning settlements of the West, or the prosperous and poor neighborhoods of New York City, “anonymous” Americans took on explicit and exaggerated features, expressions, gestures, and poses. Distinguished by traits linked to specific regions of the nation (each in turn with its own variations and subgroups), the citizens differentiated into representational social types were instantly recognizable to readers. The device of typing dated back to the first years of the republic, but it had

blossomed in the Jacksonian era's culture industry. The self-confident and calculating Yankee "Brother Jonathan" of New England, the independent and irrepressible western frontiersman, the rude backwoods southern "cracker," and the pugnacious and preening urban plebeian "Mose" were among the most popular of the regional characters performed on the popular stage, described in popular literature, and illustrated in the crude woodcuts of comic almanacs and the "low" aesthetics of genre painting. The distinctive features, styles of dress, and poses of these social types signified predictable and predetermined characteristics that served as components for a normative description of American society.²⁶

In the antebellum period, types as visual images were subordinate to theatrical performance and literature, appearing mainly in woodcut illustrations of comic almanacs or in lithographs portraying actors as celebrated characters. The advent of the illustrated press in the 1850s rejuvenated the practice of typing, with its broader distribution, greater accessibility, and better reproduction techniques. Types appeared in visual codes that, to those versed in the science of physiognomy, revealed their innate character and motive to a vast American public. Rooted in Aristotelian precepts of the ideal, physiognomy's long history had reached a milestone in the late eighteenth century with the publication of Johann Caspar Lavater's multivolume *Physiognomische Fragmente*. The Swiss theologian's work, translated into many languages, set forth precise rules for deducing essential moral and social qualities from facial structure and expression. Establishing the ideal in the classical Greek profile, in which the nose and forehead form a vertical line denoting intelligence and spirituality, Lavater's many diagrams delineated how deviations from classical balance and symmetry compared with traits found in animals to confirm characterological flaws, from idiocy to immorality. More to the point, Lavater's diagrams served as models for artists, both in the studio and in the newspaper office, as they depicted the populace. Rendering figures whose features and physiques were imbued with the rules of physiognomy, the illustrations in the pictorial press constructed an orderly, detectable, moral map for what seemed so hidden and chaotic in mid-nineteenth-century America.²⁷ Through the palpability of appearance, *Frank Leslie's* and other weekly illustrated papers offered a way to comprehend and represent the increasingly complex and perplexing nineteenth-century social reality.

The imperative for reading character and social role was particularly acute in the new, heterogeneous "world of strangers" of the mid-nineteenth-century American city. The geographic growth and discomfiting mix of classes in cities like New York prompted the production of literary and visual categorizations that assured an emerging, inchoate middle class that there still

was coherence in the universe: the threatening urban landscape could be read and, with this knowledge, safely traversed. The pictorial press played a crucial role in making the city seem decipherable, serving as the perfect complement to genteel rules of public behavior that required the controlled gaze of "civil inattention" in the street; in private, looking over a pictorial newspaper, the respectable reader could let his or her eyes rove promiscuously over the urban scene.²⁸

Information guiding the citizen through the treacherous streets was readily available in the pictorial press, and it was New York City in particular, the home of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and its competitors, that became the nation's paradigm for urban life. Society balls and political campaigns, building construction and conflagrations, theater openings and funerals, parks and processions—significant or not, events in New York predominated in *Frank Leslie's* coverage. The customs and manners of the city were portrayed through a range of social types (and their subcategories) stretching across the classes: Wall Street types tussled in the financial district; middle-class types thronged the ferries on weekend excursions; polite society types attended banquets and fancy balls; and a panoply of ethnic types engaged in their customary pastimes.

In their day-to-day lives, real New Yorkers endured the promiscuous bustle of humanity, but for readers of the illustrated press the spectacle of the mixed urban crowd faded from view. Like the expanding metropolis fragmented into enclaves defined by class and ethnicity, the panorama of the streets was viewed by the paper's readers in small bits. *Leslie's*, like the city guides of the period, mapped the city by gathering separate representations of distinct and contrasting social types, each populating its own characteristic haunts and environs. New York was perceptible only through its parts, a metropolis composed of several cities on a spectrum from sunshine to shadow: "the commercial metropolis," "the metropolis of vice," "the boarding house belt," and "the fashionable metropolis."²⁹ A unified pictorial sense of the city existed but, like contemporary lithographic and photographic representations, it was largely confined to idealized aerial views, promotional pictures of new Grand-Style buildings, laudatory cuts displaying urban improvements, or fantastic renditions of how the streets *should* look. There were exceptions to the pictorial segmentation of the city, but such engravings portrayed the mixed crowd to convey a sentimental or cautionary note, preserving the exclusiveness of types within the representation of the city.

Unlike the British illustrated press, which avoided the more unpleasant aspects of urban life, American pictorial papers offered a steady supply of pictures showing the dangerous city. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* regu-

larly depicted accidents, fires, hazards, crime, and—especially—poverty.³⁰ The era's preoccupation with sanitary reform, and the heavy sales that attended *Frank Leslie's* exposés of health scandals, attested to the growing belief that hidden horrors could at any moment transcend the geographical boundaries of class to wreak havoc on the entire city. Readers needed to know the hazards lurking in the metropolis, and the value of the illustrated press lay in its ability to represent the threatening disorder of poverty, obviating the need to learn of danger through direct personal experience.³¹

From the late 1860s to the mid-1870s, readers of *Frank Leslie's* and its pictorial competitors were subjected to an archive of images that revealed the poverty underlying city life, while the periodicals also assured viewers that the problem was largely the result of individual moral failure. Invariably accompanied by descriptions of artist-reporters' journeys into darkness guided by jaded officers of the law, these engravings portrayed enduring social types, their faces and bodies diagrams of characterological failure, their lives passed in dark, crowded conditions that were the antithesis of the domestic ideal. The causes of their plight were readily apparent. Mrs. McMahan's wretched one-room "apartment" on Roosevelt Street, depicted in an 1867 cut, exhibited the destitution wrought by liquor; the sole male occupant was collapsed in an alcoholic stupor on the unswept floor.

While the averted face of the mother suckling her baby added a dollop of sentiment to the hovel's female occupants, the center of the composition was devoted to the slouching Mrs. McMahan. In her harsh, angular features, bereft of feminine virtues, the viewer ascertained the eventual fate of the younger women in the scene, its cause located in the liquor tankard weighing down Mrs. McMahan's right hand.³² Although relieved occasionally by illustrations that showed the ministrations of charitable reformers and the operations of asylums and mission houses, the overall picture abandoned the "unregulated" adult poor who had irretrievably succumbed to vice. Only one hope for reform emerged out of the visual record of physical and spiritual collapse: the children of the poor. Whether abused by masters or neglected by deficient parents, whether prematurely driven or released from the moral confines of the family to roam unsupervised in the streets, the children of the poor were largely depicted as the blameless victims of corrupted adults. They alone still offered readers the possibility of reform.³³

The Limits of Order

The conventions and codes in *Frank Leslie's* pictorial coverage of urban poverty indicated, to use Raymond Williams's phrase, an asymmetry in the rela-

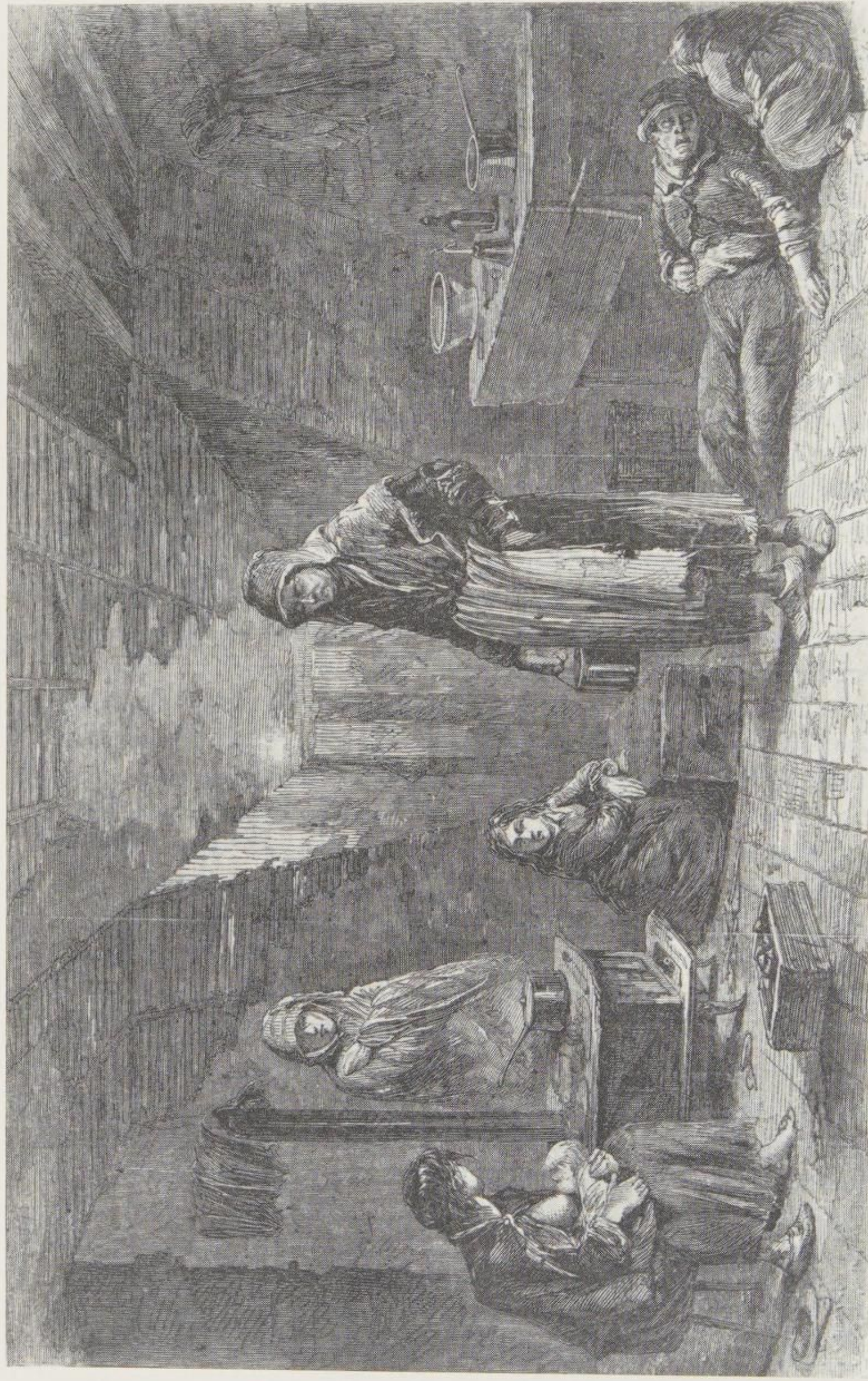


Figure 1.2. "The Mysteries and Miseries of New York City. Interior of Mrs. M'Mahan's apartment at No. 22 Roosevelt Street." Wood engraving based on a sketch by Albert Berghaus, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, February 2, 1867, cover. American Social History Project.

tions between dominant and subordinate cultures in Gilded Age America.³⁴ At first glance, social typing and the construction of moralistic pictorial narratives in *Leslie's* and its competitors appear as the pictorial equivalent of other social and cultural practices that served to define the new urban middle class. Pictorial publication was far too expensive for working-class institutions and periodicals into the late 1880s; trade union and radical publications could at best afford to reproduce occasional cartoons. No alternative visual news medium challenged the version of reality articulated in the commercial illustrated press. However, the nature of the asymmetry, at least for *Leslie's*, was more complicated than a split between high and low cultures would suggest. The pictorial "vocabulary" used to describe the city was based on forms that had been created in the circumscribed antebellum visual culture, which had been directed to more exclusive audiences. After the Civil War, the readership that sustained *Frank Leslie's* was increasingly defined by diversity, particularly in the face of the fluctuating fortunes and conflicting social relations of industrial capitalism. As an institution predicated on encompassing the differences embodied by its broad middle readership, *Leslie's* faced persistent volatility and perpetual conflicts. The paper's rigid pictorial conventions, especially its promulgation of recognizable and enduring social types, cracked under the weight of postbellum social and political change. At crucial moments, the device of social typing destabilized, and *Leslie's* pictorial narratives became ambiguous or contradictory. In unexpected places we find the creation of new types and the sundering of categories that should have been preserved if a middle-class ideal were holding sway.

The Panic of 1873 and the ensuing depression, the greatest crisis industrial capitalism had yet seen—lasting some five and a half years—led to an unprecedented shift in the representation of the poor. Because such a large proportion of the workforce relied on industrialized employment, this national disaster reconfigured the manner in which poverty was rendered.³⁵

While *Leslie's* responded to the early years of the depression with stock figures of poverty, the persistence of economic catastrophe generated a new type of poor American for its representation. Born of the depression, the tramp presented a new brand of ambulatory corruption that threatened to become a permanent, aberrant "profession," as much deplored by the respectable mechanic as by the merchant. In many ways, the figure of the tramp was more an ominous variation on the theme of the undeserving poor than an object lesson in the exigencies of industrial capitalism. "The *genus* tramp," announced an 1876 *Frank Leslie's* editorial, "is a dangerous element in society, and ought to be dealt with accordingly." As depicted in a July 1877 engraving, the transient poor exhibited an aggressive form of degradation, no longer

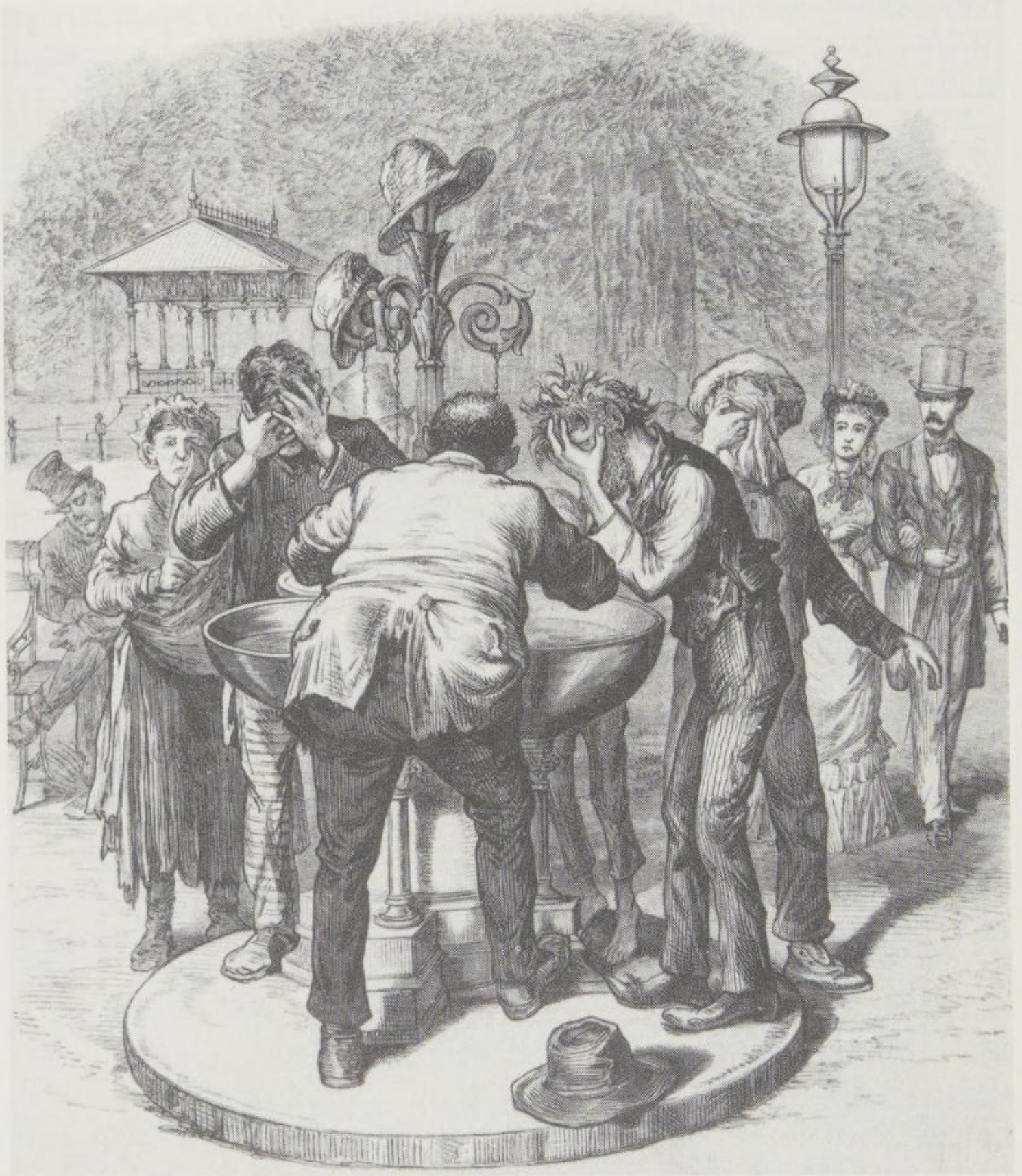


Figure 1.3. "New York City.—A tramp's ablutions—An early morning scene in Madison Square." Wood engraving, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 21, 1877, cover. American Social History Project.

content to defile only the streets and hovels of the lowly districts of the city and countryside.³⁶

But in the face of continued depression, neither dependence on old adages about morality and fate nor reliance on new repressive recommendations seemed adequate. In a city like New York, where by the winter of 1873–74 some one hundred thousand people were unemployed, the reassuring predictability of "traditional" social types (or their slightly revised versions)

could not be maintained. Images of the undeserving poor continued to appear in *Leslie's* pages, but they were now supplemented by engravings peopled with the "wrong" types.³⁷ Among the homeless poor pictured leaving the shelter of a New York City precinct-house on a frigid February 1877 morning were faces and dress that readers uneasily noted did not belong in an engraving of "vagrants."

"It has been noticed this winter," *Frank Leslie's* warily commented, "that among the applicants for lodgings at the stations an unusually large number represents a class of men and women unaccustomed to such dormitories."³⁸ Unlike the poor as familiarly depicted, the subjects of these and other engravings now potentially included some of *Frank Leslie's* readership. As the forces of industrial capitalism wantonly plucked victims from the population, the reliability of physiognomy to signify the "deserving" and "undeserving," the "respectable" and "degraded," faltered.

In an atmosphere increasingly characterized by division, crisis, and instability, *Frank Leslie's* could no longer count on the shared perceptions of its reading public. Engravings of poverty and want grew more ambivalent or appeared in contradictory juxtapositions, their typed subjects gaining and losing coherence as use of the physiognomic enhancement of features came under attack. As with images of disasters, the engravings of destitution and want brought a shock of recognition to many readers: depression selected its victims with the arbitrariness of a railway accident or calamity of nature. *Leslie's* readers, no longer able to sequester everyday tragedy in the realm of private failure, found pictorial social typing unreliable and inauthentic. Requiring a broad and varied readership to sustain its expensive project, an audience now suffering different fates with different perceptions of causes and effects, *Leslie's* altered its methods of representing social types. The trajectory of *Leslie's* depiction of labor in the decade of the 1870s would decisively reveal the change in the pictorial order.

Pictures of Labor

Since its first publication of a trade-union image (a double-page engraving in 1860 depicting the workers' procession in Lynn, Massachusetts, during a shoemakers' strike), *Frank Leslie's* had sporadically covered the labor movement—in contrast to the patrician *Harper's Weekly's* pictorial disregard of "the labor question." After the Civil War, the publication's generally dismissive and hostile stance toward the effort to win the eight-hour workday was expressed in numerous editorials but few engravings. Yet through the late 1860s, when *Leslie's* covered a strike or some organized trade union activity



Figure 1.4. "New York City.—Early morning at a police station—Turning out the vagrant night lodgers." Wood engraving based on a sketch by Fernando Miranda, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, February 10, 1877, 377. American Social History Project.

(usually an event in New York), its portrayal was generally sympathetic.³⁹ The momentous year 1871 brought Joseph Becker's pictures of eastern Pennsylvania mine violence, which seemed to augur a new era of class relations uncomfortably suggestive of the wholesale strife erupting in many European capitals. But *Leslie's* engravings of the New York labor movement remained calm and uncontentious. The cover cut of the September 13, 1871, "great eight-hour labor demonstration," with its decorous procession—marchers and spectators alike dressed in respectable finery—confirmed "an orderly and impressive occasion" attended by the city's "hardy sons of toil."⁴⁰

Nine months later, the characteristically temperate tone of pictures and words disappeared. New York City's trade unions had escalated their eight-hour demand and launched a strike wave that, by June 1872, involved more than one hundred thousand workers, the largest combined labor action to hit an American city up to that time.⁴¹ Thousands of "laboring men," *Leslie's* commented in its June 8 issue, "are battling for what they consider their rights—the eight-hour system, with full day's pay, and in some cases, increase of wages." Some trade unionists, however, were not "content to confine themselves to the 'passive policy' of not working in order to gain their ends, but . . . have resorted to force, in order to compel others, more patient or more satisfied with the existing order of things, to do the same."⁴² *Leslie's* did not indulge in direct (or, as in the case of the *New York Times* and other antiunion papers, overheated) references to the Paris Commune; nor did it link "internecine" worker strife in New York to previously published scenes in Pennsylvania. Instead, the engraving that accompanied the passage quoted above encouraged readers to draw such connections.

Artist Matt Morgan's illustration showing a confrontation among quarymen excavating new streets in upper Manhattan did not convey chaos, as Becker's Pennsylvania cuts had done; yet, though the engraving's violence was incipient, its likely source was plainly visible. His sleeves rolled and fists clenched, the thickset strike leader bore the physiognomy, albeit in a mild form, of the "lowly" Irish; in their appearance, stance, and dress, his equally aggressive companions—especially the suspiciously sashed figure on the extreme right—resurrected visions of the Paris Communards. This engraving, the first to depict division among workers in New York City, proposed that the discord attending the eight-hour effort derived less from genuine domestic disputes than from imported conflicts.⁴³

Three weeks later, *Leslie's* extended its vision of "foreignness." The engraving of the June 10, 1872, parade, which capped the ultimately unsuccessful citywide trade union effort, worked up the Continental signs of the participants.

"[T]he promised procession of 40,000 dwindled down to 4,000 men,"



Figure 1.5. "New York City.—The Eight-hour Movement—A group of workingmen on a strike in one of the up-town wards." Wood engraving, based on a sketch by Matthew Somerville Morgan, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 8, 1872, 197. American Social History Project.

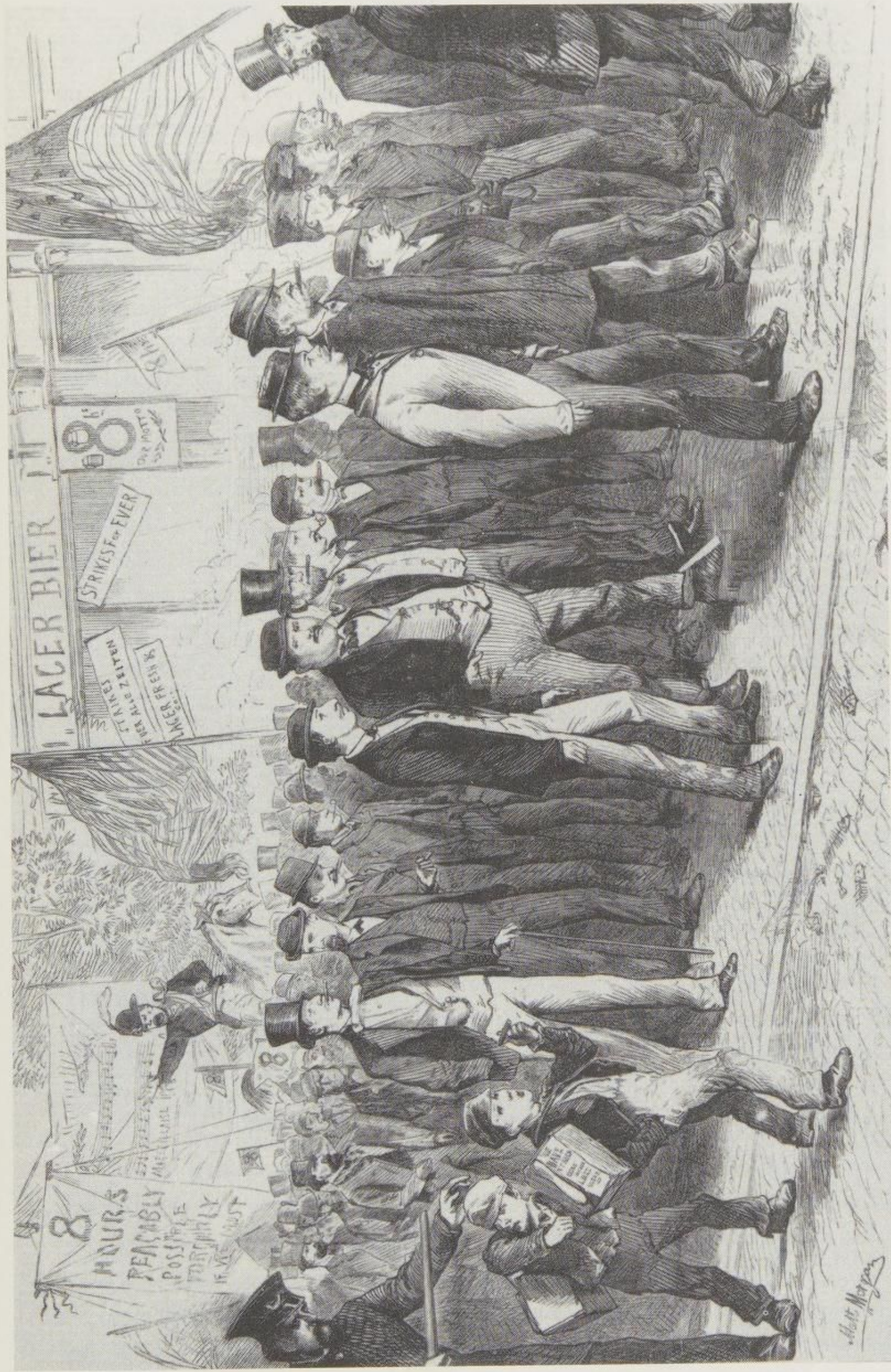


Figure 1.6. "New York City.—The Eight-hour Movement—Procession of workmen on a 'strike,' in the Bowery, June 10th, 1872." Wood engraving based on a sketch by Matthew Somerville Morgan, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 29, 1872, 253. American Social History Project.

Leslie's observed in the accompanying text. "As a popular movement of the workingmen, the parade was a failure. Very many, with commendable good sense, refused to take part in it, fearing that greater complications would thereby be engendered." While this perception, echoed in the *Times* and the *Tribune*, was disputed in the pro-labor *Sun*, disagreement over the numbers of participants was less important than the meaning of the scene, which downplayed the threat of violence in favor of buffoonery. Showing a grotesquely snarling figure on horseback in the background, the engraving nonetheless featured a collection of "foreign" physiognomies whose aggressiveness lay only in the absurd angle of their cigars. "It would be difficult," *Leslie's* concluded, "to convince ourselves that those who appeared were fair representatives of the workingmen of the city. They certainly did not exhibit the manly bone and sinew of the land."⁴⁴ Exhibiting a travesty of the American worker, *Leslie's* reduced the threat of disorder to the antics of two newsboys mimicking the marchers. For the exclusive male readership of Frank Leslie's sensational illustrated weekly, *The Days' Doings*, the theme of foreign infection teetered into violence, not to mention titillation, featuring a cut of the exotic and dangerous Judith Marx (emissary of the International and niece of Karl Marx) delivering "her inflammatory harangue" to a group of strikers armed "with implements of warfare as well as the tools of labor" in an Orchard Street cellar.⁴⁵

The trade unionists depicted in the June 1872 engravings may have failed to represent the "manly bone and sinew" of the genuine American worker, but *Leslie's* could not easily oblige its readers with a pictorial alternative. For the next five years, as the nation suffered through depression and saw its labor movement decimated through unemployment and repression, *Leslie's* only once attempted to present an emblematic American worker.

Pictured in the wake of the 1873 panic and solemnly posed in front of a closed iron mill, this postbellum industrial worker seemed lost among social types, borrowing most heavily the qualities traditionally exhibited by the perennial "noble yeoman."⁴⁶ The representational gap was consistent with the disappearance of a native-born artisan social type after the Civil War; a range of "ethnic" types served as imperfect surrogates, filling the place of the worker while being rejected as "inauthentic" representations. For most of the 1870s, images of trade union organization and activity were limited to deluded or debased "Molly Maguire" Irish miners. Their urban equivalents appeared on breadlines, or in police lodging-houses, or as members of a troublesome minority merely posing as workers (the latter case epitomized in the decidedly Continental countenances of the New York branch of the International Workingmen's Association).⁴⁷

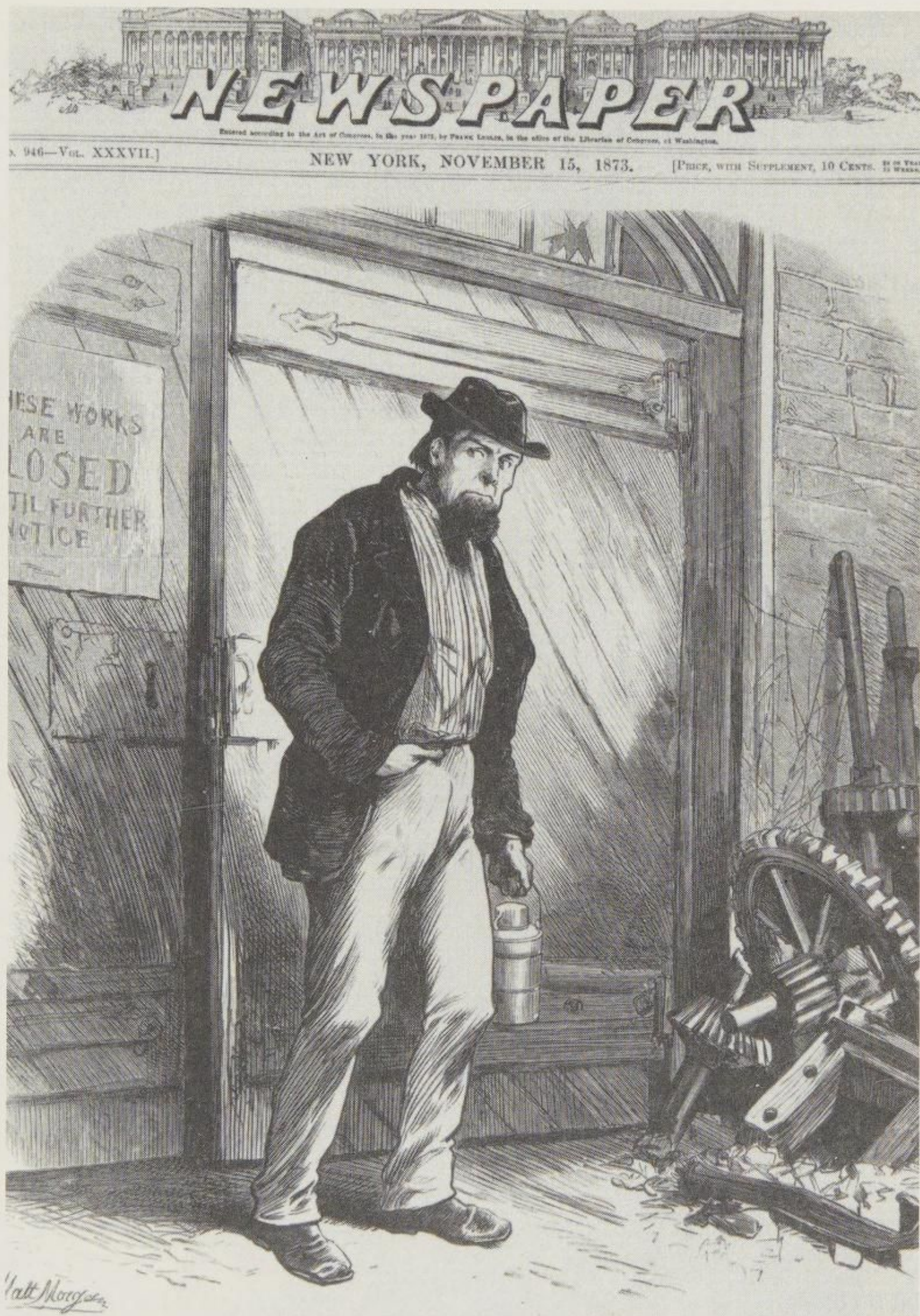


Figure 1.7. "Out of work. Saturday night at the iron mills during the crisis." Wood engraving based on a sketch by Matthew Somerville Morgan, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, November 15, 1873, cover. American Social History Project.

The alien signs registered in depictions of such gatherings easily transformed into more alarming scenes during the depression. The engraving that portrayed the January 13, 1874, Tompkins Square Riot relied on the representation of its participants to underscore that labor demonstration was illicit.

"Last week," the accompanying editorial titled "'Bread or Blood'" ran,

several thousands of the lower grades of workingmen of New York City, most of them Germans, Frenchmen and Poles, finding themselves out of work, and hungry, with no prospects of immediate employment, determined to parade through the streets in huge demonstration of numbers, as a sign of their sadness and despair. They were incited to enthusiasm by leaders who think radically about the antagonism of labor to capital; and many of them knew no alternative to getting bread by the fairest means but that of obtaining it by force, even to the shedding of blood.⁴⁸

Though it acknowledged the justice of the demand for relief, the engraving legitimated the suppression of the Tompkins Square demonstration. The "lower grades of workingmen" fleeing toward the viewer defined the violence as the sorry product of foreign agitation, infecting labor republicanism and the streets of the city with a divisive class-conscious ideology.

Unlike other labor-related actions, the Tompkins Square riot elicited coverage in *Harper's Weekly* that was similar to *Leslie's* perspective—albeit in the form of one vituperative cartoon by Thomas Nast: "The emancipator of labor and the honest working-people" showed a death's-head communist offering his skeletal hand to a cringing working-class family. Meanwhile, the *New York Daily Graphic*, inaugurated in 1873, offered three days of pictorial coverage beginning with a January 13 cover cartoon by Frank Bellew. "The 'bread or blood' bugaboo" was consistent with the paper's view of the Internationalists as a minor influence on workers; but though the *Daily Graphic's* typically sketchy graphics did not provide discernible signs for deciphering the "quality" of the participants, a cut of "weapons found on the rioters" effectively carried its message.⁴⁹

Though the depression and the depredations of the railroad and coal monopolies eventually prodded *Frank Leslie's* editorials to occasionally denounce capital as an agent of disorder and division, the representation of labor remained largely unchanged. With no visual social type for the urban or industrial worker, the preferred pictorial standard-bearer of American republican virtue became the midwestern farmer activist, the stalwart Granger. In a series of engravings published from September 1873 through February 1874, Grangers were shown at meetings and conventions that may have struck readers as oddly reminiscent of earlier cuts of labor meetings and strikes.



Figure 1.8. "The red flag in New York.—Riotous communist workingmen driven from Tompkins Square by the mounted police, Tuesday, January 13th." Wood engraving based on a sketch by Matthew Somerville Morgan, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, January 31, 1874, 344. American Social History Project.

The similarity was hardly accidental, as a February 1874 editorial titled "The Farmers' Union" suggested: "The intellectual and social purposes of their organization are far in advance of anything ever before undertaken in America on a large scale; and while they cling honestly together social anarchy and un-American uprisings are impossible."⁵⁰ The heritage of genuine "labor" as crusader against the abuses of capital and corruption of government was now bestowed on the figure of the native-born noble yeoman, a development that the singular November 1873 engraving of the emblematic "Out of Work" ironworker only substantiated: he was an industrialized Yankee "Brother Jonathan," unemployed yet isolated from divisive, alien-inspired activism.⁵¹

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper would, over the course of the depression, acknowledge that strikes were sometimes an unavoidable (if probably ruinous) choice, and capital was sometimes provocative and unyielding. But these usually begrudging concessions (framed in laissez-faire reasoning) appeared solely in the publication's editorials.⁵² In *Leslie's* engravings, militant workers and trade unionists continued to inhabit fairly rigid representational categories—usually exoticized, sometimes buffoonish, sometimes menacing.

The Great Uprising

The Great Uprising of July 1877 heralded the beginning of a new era of working-class protest and trade-union organization. Emanating from isolated railroad-worker protests over arbitrary wage reductions, the strike quickly spread along the nation's tracks to halt commerce for two weeks during July 1877. Extending over fourteen states and paralyzing most of the country's industrial cities, the railroad strike took on the character of a revolt against persistent hard times and railroad corporation abuses.⁵³

Frank Leslie's diligently covered the Great Uprising for three weeks (including a sixteen-page "Railroad Riot Extra" supplement edition), its engravings showing halted trains, massive demonstrations, mobilized troops, street battles, flaming buildings, and smoldering ruins. In the strike's aftermath, the publication's August 11, 1877, editorial assessed the impact of the unprecedented event. Looking abroad, *Leslie's* bemoaned the damage to America's reputation, fearing the slowing of immigration and foreign investment as well as "the perpetuation of kingcraft" among European "advocates of monarchical impositions." Turning back home, *Leslie's* refrained from draconian solutions, favoring "pluckier men in civil authority, and a militia so organized and drilled and trusted as to be effective in emergencies" over reliance on "a powerful standing army." Moreover, *Leslie's* proposed, "What is more wanted . . . [is] a kindlier treatment of employees by capitalists and corporations. It should

need no political economist to demonstrate to corporations the necessity of fostering labor instead of grinding it into the dust." If there was "one good result" in the "gigantic demonstration" of the railroad strikers, it was "in showing the existence of an element whose rights must be respected in common with the rights of the millionaire." Recognizing the necessity to correct the imbalance in economic and social power, *Leslie's* warned that, for the most part, "the element of disorganization and plunder, of incendiarism and murder, must not be confounded with the railroad strikers. This violent, revolutionary, and Communistic element is composed of the idle roughs and the vagabond tramps who infest the country and hasten to the centres of trouble."⁵⁴

The distinction appeared to be reinforced in *Leslie's* images of railroad strikers. The engraving that depicted the July 17 incident at Martinsburg, West Virginia, that sparked the nationwide strike showed heavily armed "disaffected workmen dragging firemen and engineers" from a Baltimore & Ohio freight train; but the scene suggested a disciplined military action rather than a disorderly mob. Based on *Leslie's* editorial differentiation of railroad strikers and "rioters," however, one might assume that engravings of violence in the cities would resurrect the familiar physiognomic types of disorder and "foreign infusion." The editorials and descriptions accompanying such cuts certainly proposed that "we have among us an element as malicious, determined and desperate as ever appeared in Paris under the Commune"; the participants were characterized as "malcontents, loafers, and disreputable persons of both sexes." Yet in such illustrations as the Sixth Regiment of the Maryland National Guard "firing upon the mob" in the streets of Baltimore, *Leslie's* pictures generally defied the expectations raised in its text.⁵⁵

Contradicting the "visual" typing suggested by its words, *Frank Leslie's* pictures reformulated the meaning of the Great Uprising. By their nature, the July events necessarily disrupted conventional categorizations. As the engravings showed, the strike placed unexpected types in the line of fire: in localities across the country, the broad "middle" came out to protest the abuses of the railroads. The illustration capping *Leslie's* "Railroad Riot Extra" supplement—a double-page panorama of the Philadelphia militia firing on the Pittsburgh crowd gathered near the Pennsylvania Railroad's Union Depot—was an extended visual performance demonstrating that potential readers had become "rioters."

To be sure, some engravings reverted to predictable social typing. Unlike in Pittsburgh, in Chicago the general strike split the city along class (and ethnic) lines, providing a ready frame within which the "traditional" agents of disorder could be persuasively rendered. *Leslie's* August 11 cover engraving, showing cavalry charging the rioters at the Halstead Street viaduct, closely

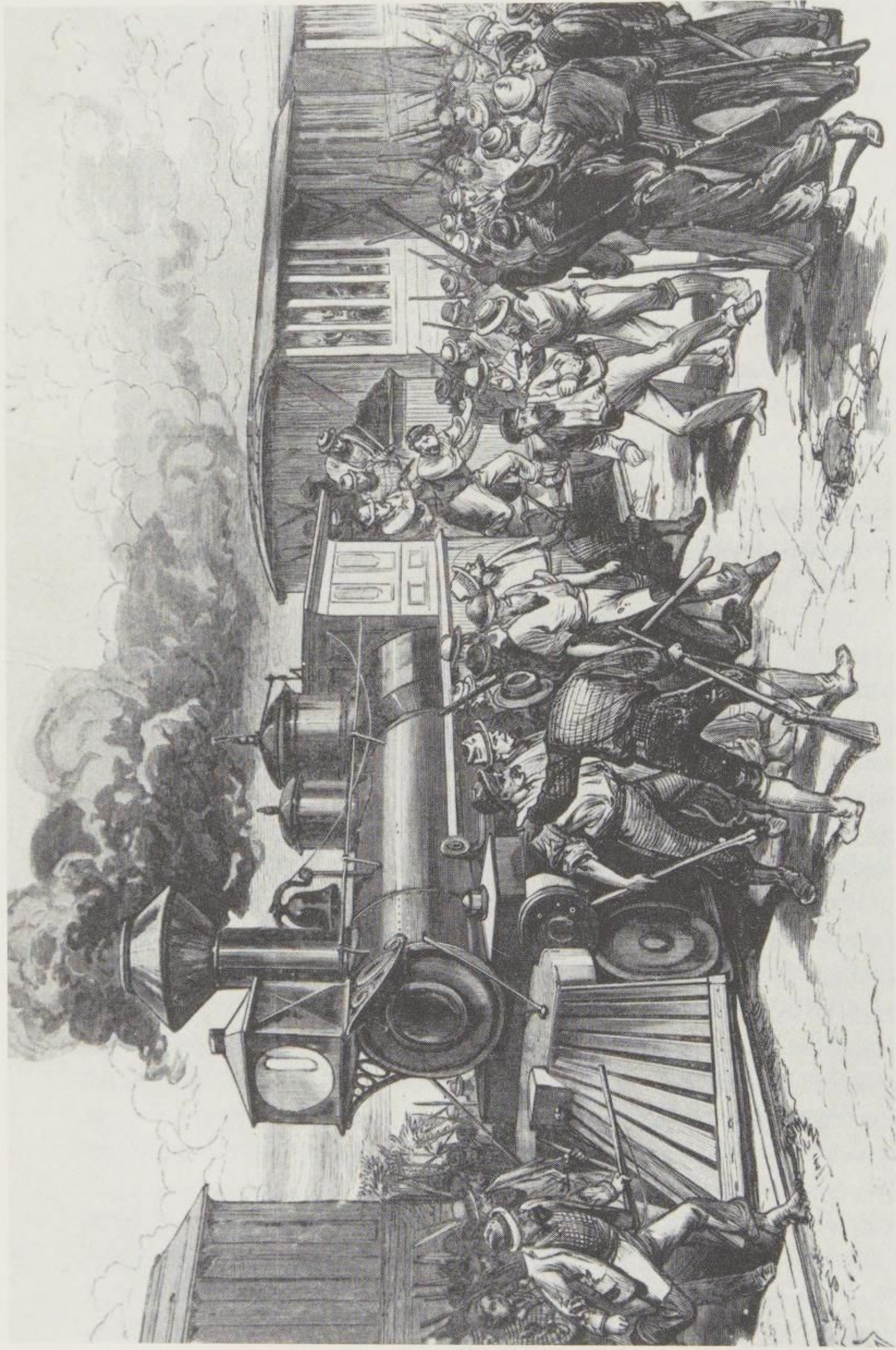


Figure 1.9. "West Virginia.—The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad strike—The disaffected workmen dragging firemen and engineers from a Baltimore freight train at Martinsburg, July 17th." Wood engraving based on a sketch by Fernando Miranda, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, August 4, 1877, 373. American Social History Project.

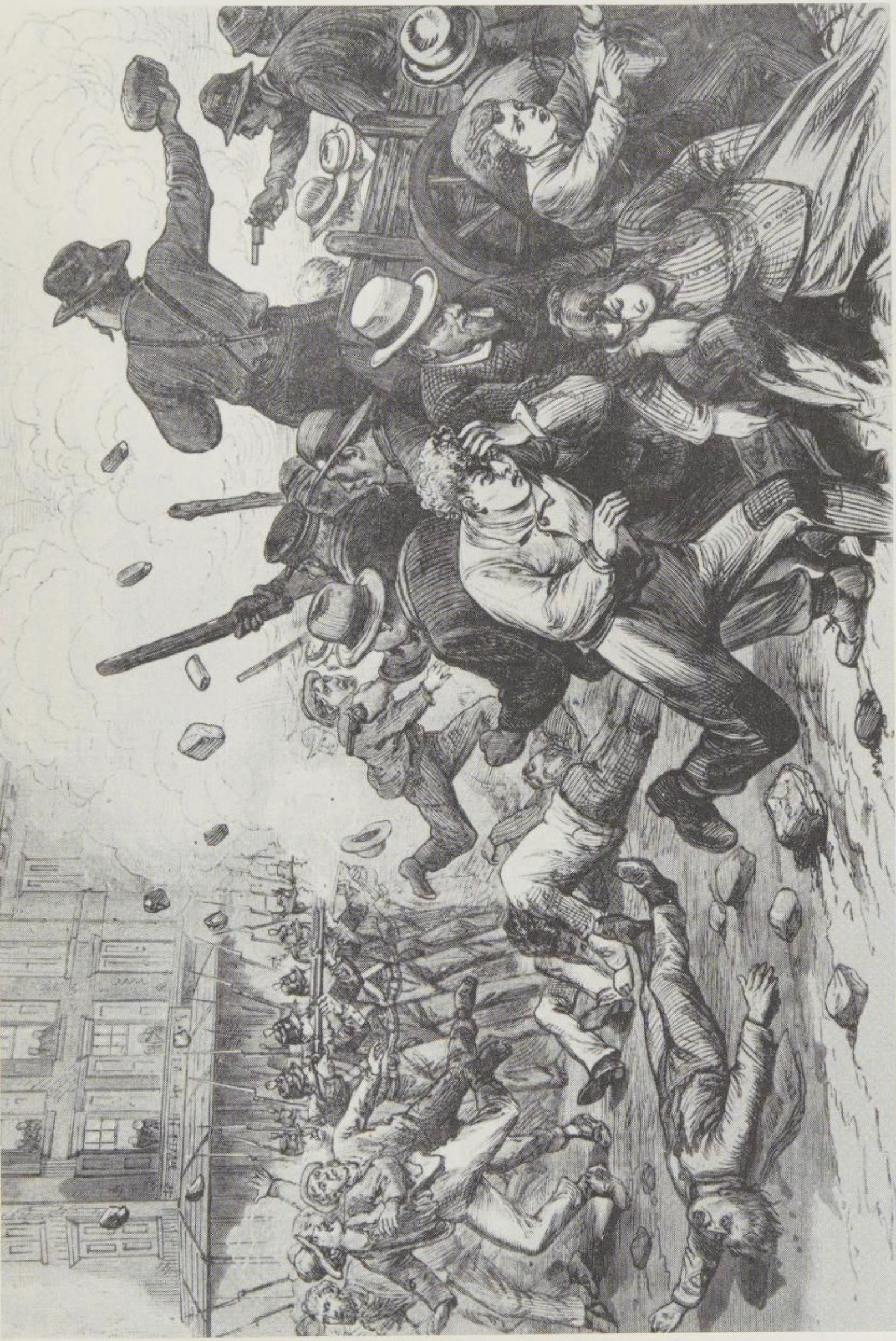


Figure 1.10. "Maryland.—The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad strike—The Sixth Regiment, N.G.S.M., firing upon the mob, on the corner of Frederick and Baltimore Streets, July 20th." Wood engraving, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, August 4, 1877, 372. American Social History Project.

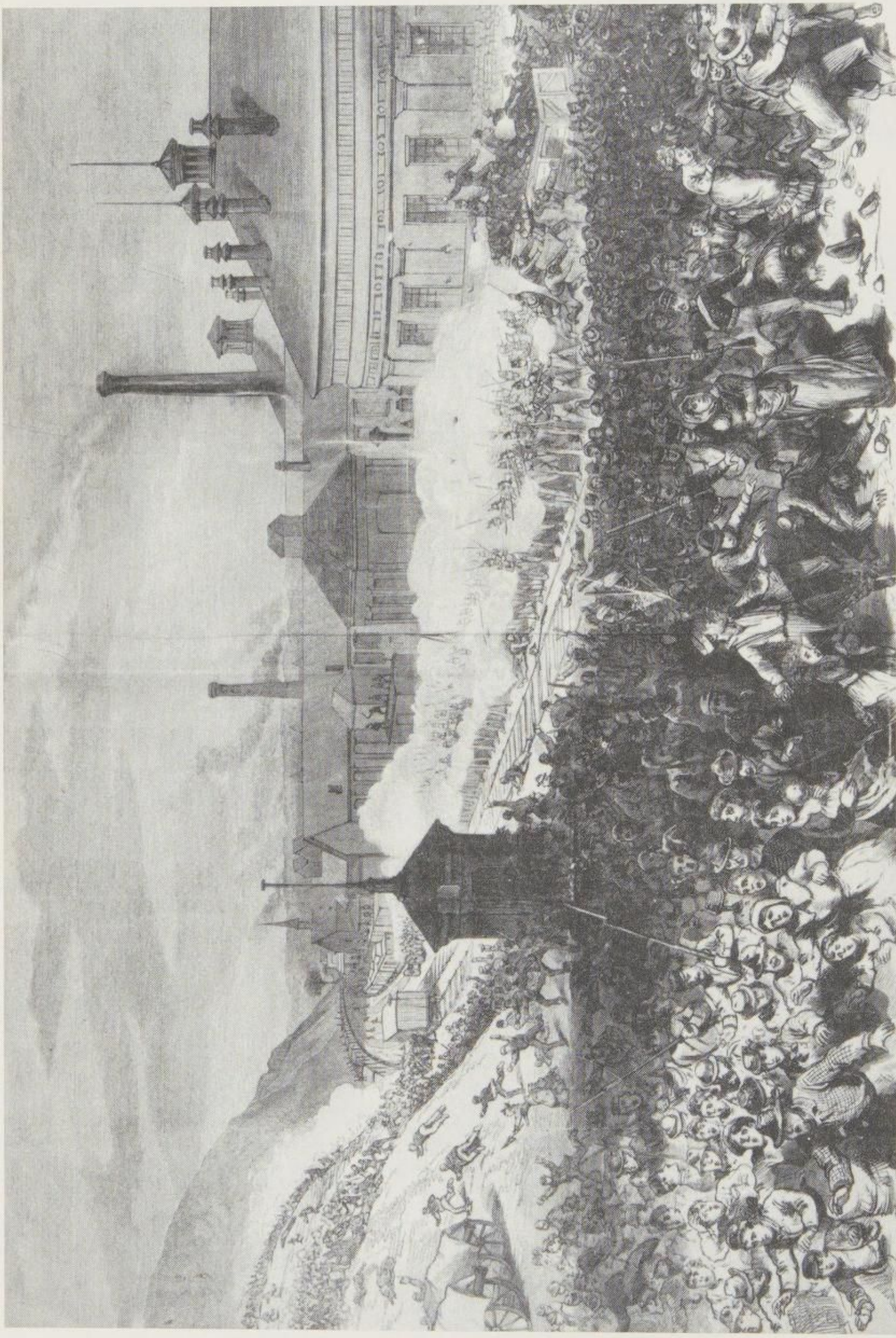


Figure 1.11. "Pennsylvania.—The railroad riot in Pittsburgh.—The Philadelphia militia firing on the mob, at the Twenty-eighth Street crossing, near the Union Depot of the Pennsylvania Railroad, on Saturday afternoon, July 21st." Wood engraving based on a sketch by John Donaghy, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (supplement), August 4, 1877, 8–9. American Social History Project.

resembled in composition and characterization the rout of the disreputable in its earlier cut of the 1874 Tompkins Square Riot. But in most localities, the physiognomic signs denoting types no longer afforded readers an easy, useful guide to deciphering a news event. Just as physiognomy disappeared in depictions of the blameless victims of disasters, the signs of sedition and degradation formerly used to define the meaning of mayhem were now inoperable. The distancing function of social typing by facial appearance could not work in representing situations in which readers might, in effect, recognize themselves as participants and victims. Still framed in the conventions of history-painting narrative, the engravings of the strike depicted “anonymous Americans” without the predictable marks of moral character, social role, and motive.⁵⁶

The Great Uprising thus marked a sea-change in *Frank Leslie's* representation of American labor and set it apart from the rest of the illustrated press.⁵⁷ In contrast, *Harper's Weekly* engravings largely opted for distant, panoramic views of mass destruction and milling crowds; the three engravings that vividly depicted battles between strikers and militia or police—one in Baltimore, two in Chicago—presented a more limited cast of male rioters.⁵⁸

The *New York Daily Graphic's* many illustrations of the strike are harder to decipher. Its pictures, rendered quickly, showed little detail; nonetheless, the *Daily Graphic's* scenes of violence and looting (including a cover page containing picturesque and grotesque character studies of the Pittsburgh crowd's bacchanal after the destruction of the train yards) seemed to offer little change from previous representations of civil disorders.

Certainly, as one editorial declared, the subjects of the strike coverage would never be confused with those who read the *Daily Graphic*: “It is hardly worth while for the press of the leading cities to be giving advice to the rioters on the railroads, or to be propounding lessons in good conduct which they will not heed. Those who are now in revolt against the constituted authorities in five States of the Union, are not as a class newspaper readers[.]”⁵⁹

The shift in *Frank Leslie's* treatment of American labor was not lost on contemporary readers. In its August 18 issue, *Leslie's* reprinted an editorial that had appeared in the July 31 *Pittsburgh Leader* complimenting the former's engravings, based on sketches by the local artist John Donaghy, of the July 21 clash between the Philadelphia militia and striking Pittsburgh railroad workers and sympathizers (e.g., Figure 1.11). The event culminated the following day in the burning of the Pennsylvania Railroad's train yards, the single most destructive incident in the nationwide strike. “The riots,” the editorial began, “have given the illustrated newspapers an opportunity that they have availed themselves of to the fullest extent to curdle the blood of

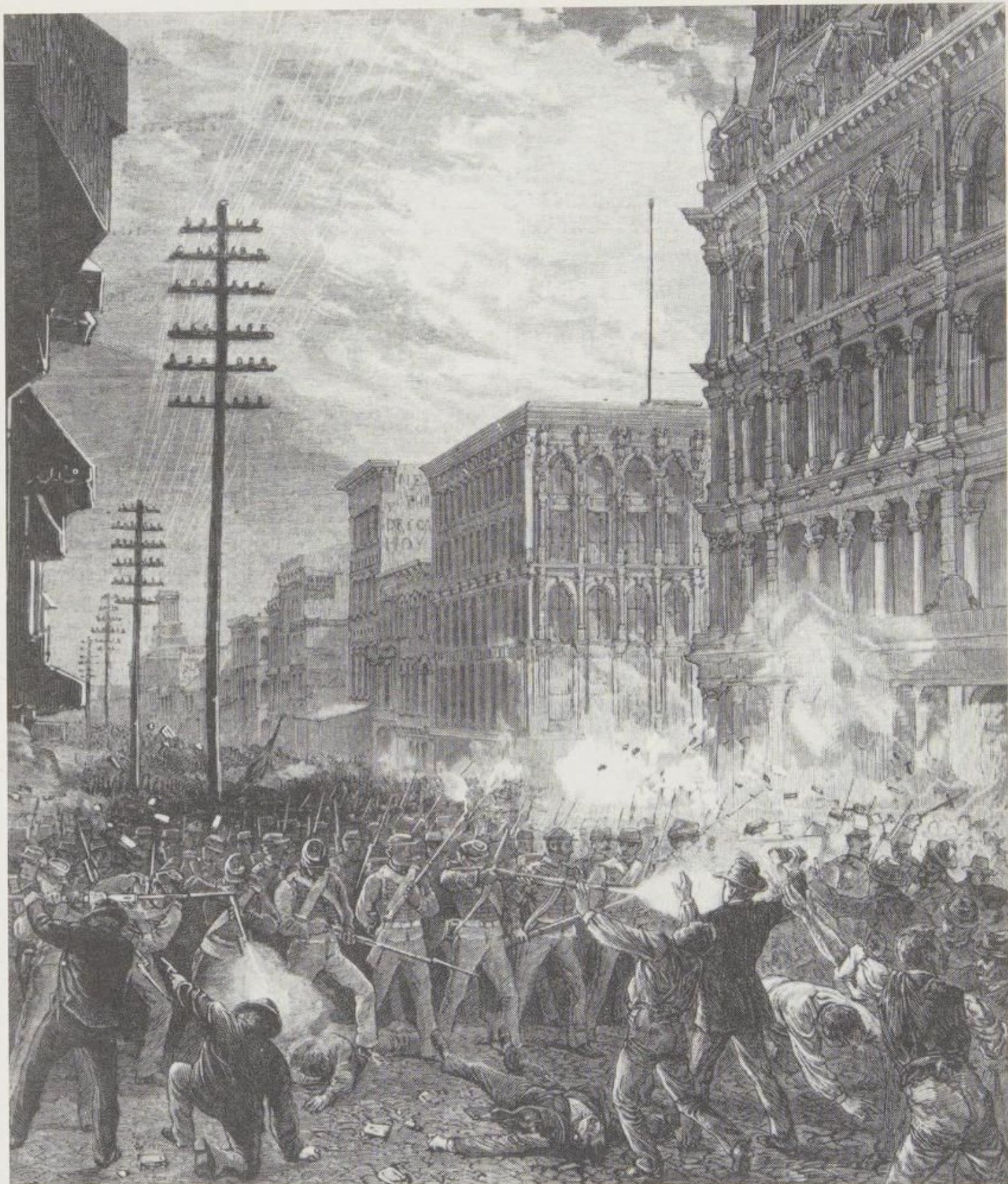


Figure 1.12. "The great strike—The Sixth Maryland Regiment fighting its way through Baltimore." Wood engraving based on a photograph by D. Bendann, *Harper's Weekly*, August 11, 1877, cover. American Social History Project.

THE DAILY GRAPHIC

AN ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY PAPER

39 & 41 PARK PLACE

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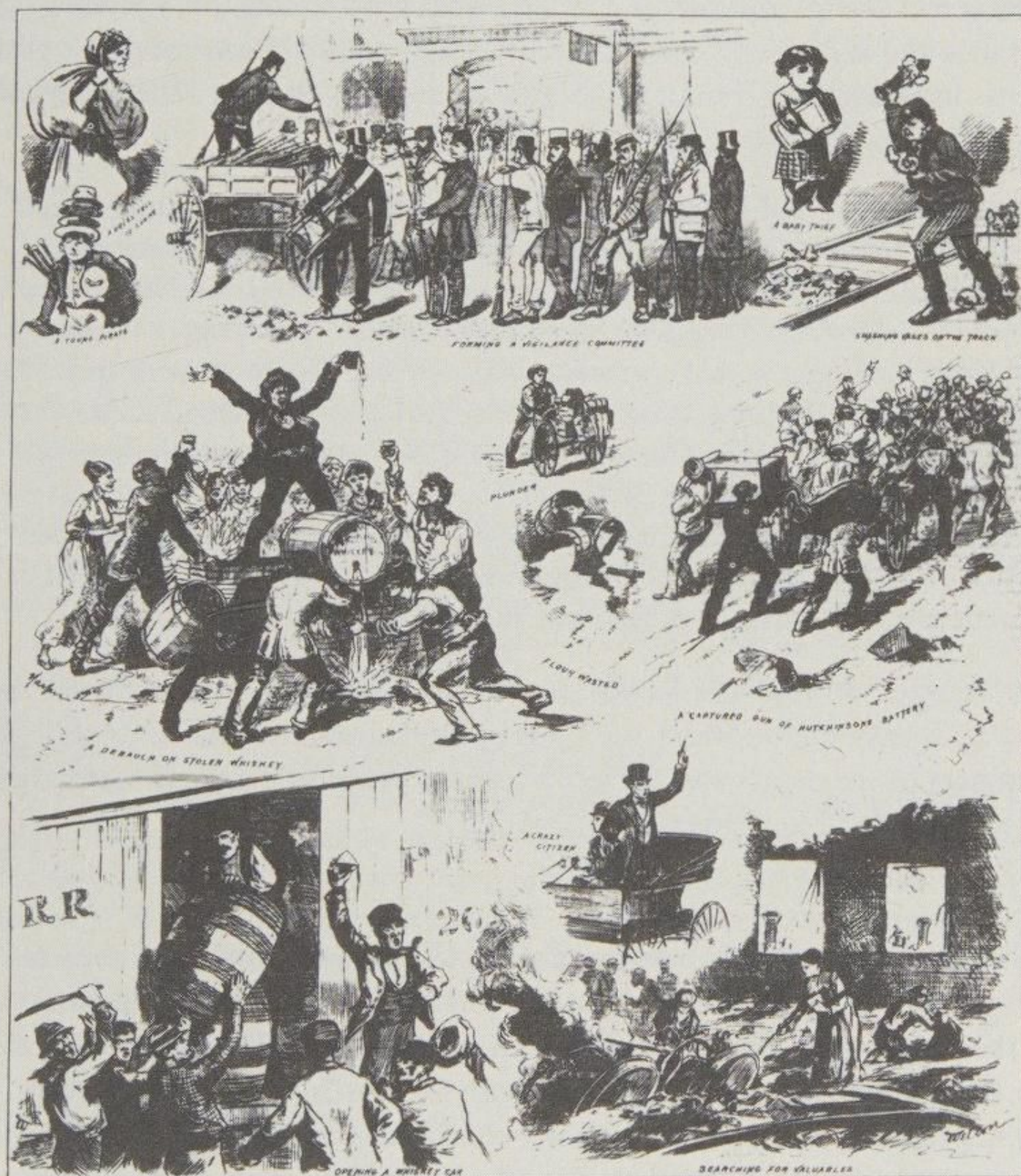


Figure 1.13. "Scenes and incidents of the railroad riots at Pittsburgh, Pa." Top tier: "A dress full of sugar; A young pirate; Forming a vigilance committee; A baby thief; Smashing vases on the track." Middle tier: "A debauch on stolen whiskey; Plunder; Flour wasted; A captured gun of Hutchinson battery." Bottom tier: "Opening a whiskey car; A crazy citizen; Searching for valuables." Lithograph based on sketches by C. D. Weldon(?), *New York Daily Graphic*, Thursday, July 26, 1877, cover. American Social History Project.

the law-abiding citizen with representations of the wild scenes of last week." It was evident, however, that "with the single exception of John Donaghy, of this city, special artist for FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER," no artist was "near enough to 'the mob' they assume to depict to know what it really looks like. They represent it as a wild and heterogeneous collection of rough men and virago women, in every variety of costume, some with blouses, some in open shirts and bare arms, some with bandannas around their brows and all with coarse, brutish features, exhibiting every phase of ignorance and malignity." This was a *French* mob, derived from cuts by English artists in old translated studies about the French Revolution. "The American mob," the *Leader* editorial chided,

is a different sort of a body altogether. It has no varieties of costume except such as indicate the sex and social condition of the wearers. American workmen do not wear the Paris blouse at all, nor are they *sans-culottes*. Nor do they wear turbans or handkerchiefs around their heads. They dress in the ordinary male costume of coat, vest and pants, sometimes, however, going in their shirt-sleeves. They are generally very well-looking men. Railroad employees especially have the reputation of being quite fine-looking, and playing havoc with the hearts of country girls. The South-side delegation, which marched up to the Round-House to help the strikers on that fatal Saturday evening, was led by a man in a good frock-coat, with a white neck-tie, and the men generally were well clad, and many of them had their boots blacked.

An "American mob," the *Leader* concluded, "especially when, as was the case at Twenty-eighth Street, there were mingled with the malcontents large numbers of spectators and curiosity-seekers, is a pretty fair representation in appearance of the American people."⁶⁰

* * *

What the *Leader* editorial observed—and the unpredictability of depiction, unmooring of types, and lessening of physiognomy in the representation of the poor and workers articulated—was a move toward realism. This call for the real may have had less to do with the much-vaunted hegemony of photographic practice than with the conflicting demands of a broad and increasingly diverse readership. The efficacy of physiognomic social typing relied on a widely shared cognitive map; as the Gilded Age progressed, a commonality of perceptions could not be assumed and, therefore, a reliance on pictorial social typing would undercut the very premise that made *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* commercially viable.⁶¹

As its coverage of the Great Uprising starkly revealed, by the 1870s *Frank*

Leslie's found that its pictorial practice was inadequate. In a nation now seemingly locked in perpetual crisis, its middle readership had grown too broad and varied to accept representations rendered in exclusive codes derived from the antebellum period. Social typing would remain as a device for reading society and pictorially reporting the news; indeed, in the 1880s, physiognomic signs would locate new subjects in a new immigrant working class (as well as, persistently, in many images of African Americans). But while *Frank Leslie's* continued to frame its figures in familiar narratives and visual conventions, its need to address a range of readers opened the way for the newsweekly to experiment in capturing social reality without pictorial typing.

Notes

1. Joseph Becker, "An Artist's Interesting Recollections of *Leslie's Weekly*," *Leslie's Weekly*, December 14, 1905, 570. Becker, who was born in 1841, began his career with *Leslie's* in 1859 when he was hired as an errand boy; in 1863, he became one of the publication's special artists covering the Civil War. During 1869 and 1870, Becker traveled the West for *Leslie's*; his series of "Across the Continent" illustrations included pictures of San Francisco's Chinese population and Utah's Mormons. His tenure as supervisor of *Leslie's* art department lasted until 1900. For Becker's career, see *ibid.*; Robert Taft, *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850-1900* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), 89-93, 312-14; *idem*, "Joseph Becker's Sketch of the Gettysburg Ceremony, November 19, 1863," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (winter 1954): 257-63.

2. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (hereafter *FLIN*), March 25, 1871, cover (17); April 15, 1871, 76; April 22, 1871, 88; April 29, 1871, 108; May 6, 1871, cover (121); May 27, 1871, 177.

3. *FLIN*, July 19, 1873, 300 (drawn by John N. Hyde).

4. On the Long Strike, Gowen's plan to destroy the WBA, the organization of Irish miners' secret societies, and the prosecution of the Molly Maguires, see Kevin Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Wayne G. Broehl Jr., *The Molly Maguires* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964). Before Becker returned to Pennsylvania, Jonathan Lowe supplied one sketch for an engraving of a miners' faction fight, *FLIN*, October 24, 1874, 101 (see also Lowe's earlier cut of striking Ohio miners, September 5, 1874, 413).

5. *FLIN*, December 12, 1874, 232.

6. *FLIN*, February 6, 1875, 357, 364.

7. *FLIN*, March 13, 1875, 9, 11.

8. Becker, "An Artist's Interesting Recollections," 570. With the assistance of Kevin Kenny, author of the most recent and comprehensive study of the group, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*, I have ascertained that Becker's contribution to prosecuting the men accused of conspiracy has gone previously unrecorded in the annals of the case. If Becker's story is true, he joined forces with one of the five Pinkerton and Reading Railroad operatives who infiltrated the miners' ranks.

9. "Editorial Notes," *FLIN*, April 3, 1875, 51. I have been unable to locate more information about Hugh McGarvy. The standard histories of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association (officially known as the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association after 1870)—including Andrew Roy, *A History of the Coal Mines of the United States . . .* (Columbus, Ohio: J. L. Trauger Printing Company, 1907) and Chris Evans, *History of the United Mine Workers of America from the Year 1860 to 1890*, 2 vols. (Indianapolis: United Mine Workers of America [1900])—do not mention McGarvy; Kevin Kenny graciously provided me with information from the WBA's newspaper, the *Anthracite Monitor*, for 1871 to 1872 (i.e., before the Long Strike), which did not name McGarvy but confirmed that the union's structure included a State General Council (composed of delegates from county-based district councils) with the office of president. The author of *Leslie's* editorial reply is difficult to determine. The two editors known to have worked for *Leslie's* in the early 1870s, Ephraim G. Squier and J. C. Goldsmith, had left the publication by 1875. For possible authors, see "A Tribute of Respect," *FLIN*, January 31, 1880, 403.

10. "Editorial Notes," *FLIN*, April 3, 1875, 51.

11. "Pennsylvania.—'A marked man.'—Scene in the coal regions during the miners' strike," *FLIN*, April 10, 1875, 77; "Pennsylvania.—Pay-day in the mining regions," September 4, 1875, 449 (quotation, 456). Compare Becker's latter treatment with Paul Frenzeny's more benign pictorial coverage in "The miners' pay-day," *Harper's Weekly* (hereafter *HW*), February 22, 1873, 157. But see also the editorial titled "Coal Trade," *FLIN*, June 12, 1875, 215, essentially a critique of the Reading Railroad's monopoly control of Pennsylvania coal.

12. The two-year hiatus in mining coverage was broken only by two engravings of coal region winter serenades and sledding in *FLIN*, March 25, 1876, 50, which were based on sketches Becker had made the year before.

13. *FLIN*, June 16, 1877, 253; June 30, 1877, 292; July 7, 1877, 305. An engraving showing four condemned prisoners, presumably also based on a sketch by Becker, appeared in the June 30, 1877, issue (189) of *Leslie's New York Illustrated Times* (formerly *The Days' Doings*).

14. Becker, "An Artist's Interesting Recollections," 570.

15. *HW*, January 31, 1874, 105. According to several commentators, the cut recalls Christ preaching to the twelve apostles; see Marianne Doezema, *American Realism and the Industrial Age* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press for the Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980), 38; John Gladstone, "Working-Class Imagery in *Harper's Weekly*, 1865–1895," *Labor's Heritage* 5, no. 1 (spring 1993): 47–49. On Frenzeny, see Taft, *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West*, 94–116.

16. Reports of the Molly Maguire trial and execution also appeared in the *Daily Graphic*: see *New York Daily Graphic* (hereafter *DG*), August 25, 1876; June 22, 1877.

17. Budd Leslie Gambee Jr., "Frank Leslie and His Illustrated Newspaper, 1855–1860: Artistic and Technical Operations of a Pioneer Pictorial News Weekly in America" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1963); Madeleine Bettina Stern, *Purple Passage: The Life of Mrs. Frank Leslie* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953); Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, Volume 2: 1850–1865* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), 43–45, 437–41, 452–65; *Volume 3: 1865–1885*, 41–44; John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America, 1741–1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 17–20 *passim*. For the vast expansion of the pictorial marketplace in

the 1850s, see Thomas C. Leonard, *The Power of the Press: The Birth of American Political Reporting* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 57–59, 90–96.

18. When Leslie arrived in the United States, the closest publication to the *Illustrated London News* was *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* (started in 1851, purchased and renamed *Ballou's Pictorial* from 1855 to 1859). Leslie worked for this weekly Boston “family miscellany,” which included illustrations devoted to the news, from 1851 to 1852.

19. P. T. Barnum, *Struggles and Triumphs; or, Forty Years' Recollections* (1871; reprint, New York: Penguin, 1981), 234–35; A. H. Saxon, *P. T. Barnum: The Legend and the Man* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 188–89. Barnum co-owned the short-lived *Illustrated News* with the *New York Sun's* H. D. and A. E. Beach.

20. On Frank Leslie's broad readership, see Joshua Brown, *Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of Gilded Age America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 40–46. My consideration of a “middle” reading public departs from recent historiography of popular culture in the nineteenth century that proposes a rapid bifurcation into “high” and “low” constituencies, most notably Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).

21. Brown, *Beyond the Lines*, 34–40. This process, reputedly introduced by Leslie, was also used by *Harper's Weekly*. The *Daily Graphic*, in contrast, relied on a photolithographic process that transferred rough artist sketches.

22. *FLIN*, April 2, 1859; Brown, *Beyond the Lines*, 68–74.

23. Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, from Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), 21–70.

24. Valerian Gribayedoff, “Pictorial Journalism,” *The Cosmopolitan* 11, no. 4 (August 1891): 479; Leonard, *The Power of the Press*, 103–5. The above observation should not negate how readers derived a significant amount of information from such engravings. Aside from presenting a new range of “illustrious Americans”—including, significantly, African American legislators—pictorial information was often displayed with only cursory captions or brief descriptions in the expectation that readers could identify many of the unnamed assembled faces as well as gain a qualitative sense of the context of news events through the painfully detailed rendering of interiors, scenery, etc.

25. The political caricatures appearing in *Frank Leslie's* never achieved the impact of Thomas Nast's work in *Harper's Weekly*. Leslie imported the British cartoonist Matthew Somerville Morgan in 1870 to compete with Nast's acerbic and highly popular pro-Republican cartoons. Coming in a distant second in the publications' cartoon rivalry during the 1872 presidential campaign and the subsequent off-year election, Morgan had moved on by 1876. His replacement, Joseph Keppler, would himself soon leave *Leslie's* to start the satirical weekly *Puck*; Keppler was succeeded by James Albert Wales (later a prominent contributor to *Puck* and *Judge*). Thomas Milton Kemnitz, “The Cartoon as a Historical Source,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 4 (summer 1973): 81–93; Leonard, *The Power of the Press*, 97–131, and Roger A. Fischer, *Them Damned Pictures: Explorations in American Political Cartoon Art* (North Haven, Conn.: Archon Books, 1996), 1–23, offer the most illuminating recent analyses of Nast's impact.

26. Elizabeth Johns, *American Genre Painting: The Politics of Everyday Life* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1991), 1–23; Joshua C. Taylor, *America as Art* (Washington,

D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1976), 37–94. For a self-conscious instance of typification, see “Citizens of the United States, According to Popular Impressions,” *HW*, January 12, 1867.

27. Graeme Tytler, *Physiognomy in the European Novel: Faces and Fortunes* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 3–81; Mary Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist: The Representation of Type and Character in Victorian Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 87–120; L. Perry Curtis Jr., *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971), 1–15.

28. Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830–1870* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982); John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990); Guy Szuberla, “Ladies, Gentlemen, Flirts, Mashers, Snoozers, and the Breaking of Etiquette’s Code,” *Prospects* 15 (1990): 169–96; David Scobey, “Anatomy of the Promenade: The Politics of Bourgeois Sociability in Nineteenth-Century New York,” *Social History* 17, no. 2 (May 1992): 203–27. My interpretation of the role of the pictorial press departs from these authors’ emphasis on the new bourgeoisie’s anxiety over the unreliability of appearances; in this view the city ultimately remained unreadable for the uneasy middle class.

29. “The Cities of New York,” *FLIN*, October 24, 1874, 98. On the segmented, polarized city as displayed in city guides in the period, see Stuart M. Blumin, “Explaining the New Metropolis: Perception, Depiction, and Analysis in Mid-Nineteenth-Century New York City,” *Journal of Urban History* 11, no. 1 (November 1984): 9–38; idem, “Introduction: George G. Foster and the Emerging Metropolis,” in George G. Foster, *New York by Gas-Light and Other Urban Sketches* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 1–61.

30. In contrast, the illustrated literary monthlies eschewed unpleasant urban themes, favoring the ideal and the picturesque; Robert J. Scholnick, “*Scribner’s Monthly* and the ‘Pictorial Representation of Life and Truth’ in Post-Civil War America,” *American Periodicals* 1, no. 1 (fall 1991): 59.

31. The twofold utility of the illustrated press both to shield and educate was espoused by the directors of the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor when they hired an artist to illustrate the 1884 *Annual Report* to show contributors how and where the poor lived without requiring them to suffer the hardship of personal exploration. Robert H. Bremner, *From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 1956), 116.

32. *FLIN*, February 2, 1867, 309.

33. Brown, *Beyond the Lines*, 87–100.

34. Raymond Williams, *Culture* (Glasgow: Fontana, 1981), 99.

35. For the conditions of and responses to the depression, the most comprehensive work remains Herbert G. Gutman, “Social and Economic Structure and Depression: American Labor in 1873 and 1874” (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1959).

36. “The Tramp Nuisance,” *FLIN*, August 5, 1876, 354–55. See also *FLIN*, July 21, 1877, 341; “The value of a pistol.—A villainous tramp repulsed by a plucky woman,” *The Days’ Doings* (hereafter *DD*), June 12, 1875, 9. As Michael Davis has shown, Leslie’s view coincided with the labor movement’s denunciation of the tramp in the 1870s; see Davis, “Forced to Tramp: The Perspective of the Labor Press, 1870–1900,” in Eric H. Monkkonen, ed.,

Walking to Work: Tramps in America, 1790–1935 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 141–70.

37. For old types in markedly worse conditions: “Waiting for the second table.—Inmates of the poor-house on Randall’s Island, East River, at New York City, forming in line for dinner,” *FLIN*, February 13, 1875, 381. For new types in straitened circumstances: “Out of work.—Saturday night at the iron mills during the crisis,” *FLIN*, November 15, 1873, cover (157); “The crisis—The dining hall of St. Barnabas Home, Nos. 304, 306 and 308 Mulberry Street, adjoining police headquarters, an institution for the relief of poor women,” *ibid.*, 164; “Hard times in New York.—The soup-house No. 110 Centre Street, one of the number instituted by Commodore James Gordon Bennett, and superintended by L. Delmonico,” *FLIN*, March 7, 1874, 429 (its description noting the depiction of the presence of many children because their parents were too ashamed to appear in person). It should be mentioned that Frank Leslie himself felt the impact of hard times: although his publishing house weathered the depression, bad investments and ostentatious living led to his bankruptcy and the reorganization of his business in 1877.

38. *FLIN*, February 10, 1877, 379.

39. On the Lynn procession, see *FLIN*, March 17, 1860, 242, 251. See also May 5, 1866, 101; February 20, 1869, 360; May 8, 1869, 125; September 4, 1869, 392. *Leslie’s* editorials against the eight-hour day include “Eight Hour Labor Movement,” May 5, 1866, 97–98; “Labor Conventions,” October 6, 1866, 34–35; “Eight Hours’ Labor Bill,” May 4, 1867, 98; “Town Gossip,” May 11, 1867, 114–15; “The Eight Hour Humbug,” July 11, 1868, 258; “Labor and Wages: The Eight Hour Humbug,” December 26, 1868, 225–26; “Matters and Things,” January 23, 1869, 231; “Creation and Recreation,” July 15, 1871, 286; and editorial comments, January 27, 1872, 307; February 17, 1872, 355.

40. *FLIN*, September 30, 1871, cover (33); quotation, 37.

41. On the eight-hour movement and its press coverage, see Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 237–57; Stanley Nadel, “Those Who Would Be Free: The Eight-Hour Day Strikes of 1872,” *Labor’s Heritage* 2, no. 2 (April 1990): 70–77.

42. *FLIN*, June 8, 1872, 199.

43. *Harper’s Weekly* broke from its general neglect of labor issues to publish “Between the Strike and the Family,” June 8, 1872, 444, a tableau by Paul Frenzeny showing strike organizers pressing a pensive worker to join their labor action.

44. *FLIN*, June 29, 1872, 252.

45. “The Great Strike—The Seed and Its Fruit. The Seed. The conclave of the strikers.—The beautiful International, Judith Marx, initiating a number of workmen as members of ‘The Secret Order of the Sun,’” *DD*, June 29, 1872, 16; “The Great Strike and Its Heroine,” *ibid.*, 2.

46. On the “noble yeoman,” see Sarah Burns, *Pastoral Inventions: Rural Life in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 99–121. Thomas Nast’s 1870s cartoons in *Harper’s Weekly*, which were critical of the eight-hour movement and equated trade union organizing with communist agitation, tended to portray a nondescript, agrarian-like worker (usually encumbered by a dependent spouse and child); e.g., the anti-eight-hour “The workingman’s mite,” *HW*, May 20, 1871,

468 (supplement). Beginning in the 1870s, Nast began to articulate labor as an aproned and square-hatted artisan; e.g., "Inflation is 'as easy as lying,'" *HW*, May 23, 1874, 444. Ironically, the artisan symbol, purportedly Nast's invention, gained particular adherence during the 1880s (when Joseph Keppler borrowed the figure for cartoons in *Puck*).

47. While *Leslie's* consistently deplored the Internationalists' infusion of foreign ideologies into the relationship of American labor and capital, its coverage was surprisingly temperate, possibly in deference to the readers of the paper's German edition: an engraving of a January 1872 memorial procession for the Paris Commune showed a sober and unthreatening gathering (a view that, along with accompanying editorials and cartoons, challenged police suppression of the demonstration), and *Leslie's* supplied detailed coverage of the veteran Communard Henri de Rochefort in June 1874. For the Paris Commune memorial procession, see *FLIN*, January 6, 1872, 264–65; see also *DD*, January 6, 1872, 16. For criticism of the police suppression of the procession, see the editorial comment and cartoon, "Our municipal police bull becometh enraged at the display of the red flag," *FLIN*, December 30, 1871, 243 (comment), 256 (cartoon); see also January 6, 1872, 264–65. On de Rochefort's visit, see June 13, 1874, cover (209); June 20, 1874, 232.

48. "Bread or Blood," *FLIN*, January 31, 1874, 338. See also the more panoramic and distinctively less sensational "Illinois.—The frustrated raid of Communists upon the Relief and Aid Society in Chicago," March 20, 1875, 21.

49. Thomas Nast, "The emancipator of labor and the honest working-people," *HW*, February 7, 1874, cover (121). *DG*, January 13, 1874, cover; January 14, 1874; January 15, 1874. *Leslie's The Days' Doings* characteristically reveled in the violence of the Tompkins Square demonstration: "The police prevent a demonstration by working-men on Tompkins' [sic] Square, N.Y. City, January 13," *DD*, January 24, 1874, 9. On the Tompkins Square Riot and its press coverage, see Herbert G. Gutman, "The Tompkins Square 'Riot' in New York City on January 13, 1874: A Re-examination of Its Causes and Its Aftermath," *Labor History* 6, no. 1 (winter 1965): 44–70.

50. "The Farmers' Union," *FLIN*, February 21, 1874, 386. For Granger cuts, see August 30, 1873, 397; September 13, 1873, 12; October 4, 1873, 56; October 18, 1873, 96; November 15, 1873, 168; January 31, 1874, 341 (also depicting women); February 21, 1874, 389.

51. Burns, *Pastoral Inventions*, 99–121.

52. See the following editorials: "The Great Labor Question," *FLIN*, March 15, 1873, 2; "The Labor Question," March 22, 1873, 18; "The Workingman," *ibid.*; "Lowell Mills," March 29, 1873, 37–38; "The Labor Question," April 26, 1873, 103; "American Labor," August 23, 1873, 375; "Wants of the Workingmen," February 14, 1874, 370; "Deterioration of Labor," May 2, 1874, 114; "Lessons Long Shore," December 26, 1874, 258; "Editorial Notices," March 27, 1875, 35 (an interesting contrast to earlier comments on the Tompkins Square Riot); "The Coal Trade," June 12, 1875, 215; "The Fall River Strikes," October 16, 1875, 83. See also the cartoon "Old King Coal—How his monopoly works," September 6, 1873, 420.

53. Robert V. Bruce, *1877: Year of Violence* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1959), and Philip S. Foner, *The Great Labor Uprising of 1877* (New York: Monad Press, 1977), are the most comprehensive histories of the strike. In the last generation, numerous local studies have expanded our understanding of the Great Uprising's varied character and impact. For a valuable historiographic overview, see David O. Stowell, *Streets, Railroads, and the Great Strike of 1877* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 1–11.

54. "The Railroad Strike and Insurrection," *FLIN*, August 11, 1877. Subsequent editorials focused on recommendations for government regulation of the railroads (while defending the efficacy of previous subsidies) and, citing Indian resistance and contradicting its August 11 comments, expansion of the federal military: "A Lesson from the Riots," August 18, 1877, 398; "A Consideration for the Next Congress," August 25, 1877, 414; "The Strikes from an English Standpoint," September 29, 1877, 50.

55. *FLIN*, August 11, 1877, 385.

56. Other engravings of the strike include *FLIN*, August 4, 1877, cover (365), 373, and supplement; August 11, 1877, 385, 388–89, 393; August 18, 1877, cover (397), 401, 409.

57. The change also registered in the strike coverage of the *New York Illustrated Times*, the new name applied to Leslie's *The Days' Doings* after October 1876: over three issues (August 4, August 11, and August 25, 1877), the paper presented twenty-seven engravings that in many cases departed from its previous pictures of labor violence. On the 1877 railroad strike as treated in the contemporary press, see Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800–1890* (New York: Atheneum, 1985), 475–98. Consideration of Leslie's visual reportage revises Slotkin's interpretation that the militant worker was characterized as "savage" in the aftermath of the strike.

58. See also in *HW*, August 11, 1877, "The great strike—Blockade of engines at Martinsburg, West Virginia" (620); "The great strike—Burning of the Lebanon Valley railroad bridge by the rioters" (620); "The great strike—Destruction of the Union Depot and Hotel at Pittsburgh" (621); "The great strike—The work of destruction in Pittsburgh—The wall of fire and the scene of desolation" (624–25); "The great strike—Burning of the roundhouse at Pittsburgh" (628); "The great strike—A funeral among the ruins at Pittsburgh" (628); and "The great strike—Pittsburgh in the hands of the mob" (629); see also "The great strike—Scenes of riot in Chicago," *HW*, August 18, 1877, 640.

Michael L. Carlebach, *The Origins of Photojournalism in America* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 159, cites the August 11 *Harper's Weekly* Baltimore engraving, based on a photograph by David Bendann, as an example of the broader range of news imagery that improvements in camera and film technology made accessible to the public by 1877. Like the Pittsburgh photographer S. V. Albee's celebrated stereograph series, "The Railroad War," the forty-four pictures of which depicted *only* the inert aftermath of the violence (e.g., twisted tracks, smoldering buildings, wrecked locomotives), it is more likely than not that Bendann's Baltimore photograph recorded the place but not the event itself.

59. "The Laborers' Revolt," *DG*, July 21, 1877. For other examples of the *Daily Graphic's* coverage, see "Scenes of the railroad riots in Baltimore, Md., last Friday and Saturday," July 24, 1877; "Scenes of the railroad riot in Pittsburg, Pa., last Saturday and Sunday"; "Scenes of the railroad riots at Pittsburg and Altoona, Pa., last Sunday," July 25, 1877; "Attack on the Philadelphia militia by the mob at Altoona," *ibid.*; "Endeavoring to move a train at the outer depot, Pittsburg," *Ibid.*; "Scenes of the communistic demonstration in Tompkins Square last Wednesday evening," July 27, 1877. A useful comparison between treatment in *Frank Leslie's* and the *Daily Graphic* may be found in respective depictions of the vigilance committees set up by the Pittsburgh strikers; see "Pennsylvania.—Robert M. Ammon, the leader of the Pittsburgh and Fort Wayne railroad strike, at his post, directing

the movements of the strikers," *FLIN*, August 11, 1877; "Forming a vigilance committee," *DG*, July 26, 1877 (the latter a vignette in the full page titled "Scenes and incidents of the railroad riots at Pittsburg, Pa.").

60. *Pittsburgh Leader*, July 31, 1877; quoted in "Notes and Comments: OUR RIOT PICTURES," *FLIN*, August 18, 1877, 399. On John Donaghy (1837–1931), see George C. Groce and David Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564–1860* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1957), 183; Jean McCullough, ed., *Art in Nineteenth-Century Pittsburgh: An Exhibition* (Pittsburgh: McCullough Communications, 1977), 16–17; Paul A. Chew, ed., *Southwestern Pennsylvania Painters, 1800–1945* (Greensburg, Pa.: Westmoreland County Museum of Art, 1981), 34, 37–38; Virginia Lewis, "Paintings by John Donaghy" (photocopy of a pamphlet that accompanied a Pittsburgh exhibition of Donaghy's paintings, n.d., in the files of the American Social History Project, New York).

61. Realism here denotes not any coherent school of art as much as, in Alan Trachtenberg's phrase, "a tendency . . . to depict contemporary life without moralistic condescension"; (Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 182. A similar turn toward realism in British illustrated journalism can be seen in engravings published in the *Graphic* during the 1870s; see Julian Treuherz, *Hard Times: Social Realism and Victorian Art* (London: Lund Humphries, 1987), 53–64; see also Niamh O'Sullivan, "Through Irish Eyes: The Work of Aloysius O'Kelly in the *Illustrated London News*," *History Ireland* (autumn 1995): 10–16. On photography and realism, see Estelle Jussim, *Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts: Photographic Technologies in the Nineteenth Century*, new ed. (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1983); cf., Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 73–102, which discusses nineteenth-century photographic realism's balancing of mimesis and artifice. See also Dan Schiller, "Realism, Photography and Journalistic Objectivity in 19th Century America," *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* 4, no. 2 (winter 1977): 86–95; idem, *Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), 76–95. Although Schiller emphasizes the impact of photography on literary and journalistic realism, his critical evaluation of the culturally constructed limits of photographic representation suggest how *Leslie's* varied readership might undermine a unitary notion of "objectivity."